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MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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MORDRAIN, CORBENIC, AND THE VULGATE GRAIL ROMANCES

In the *Estoire del Saint Graal* (or *Grand Saint Graal*, as it is often called) of the Vulgate cycle of the Old French Arthurian prose romances Joseph of Arimathea and his newly converted followers come with the Holy Grail to Sarras, capital of the Saracens, on the eleventh day after their departure from Jerusalem.¹ Evalac (Evalach),² king of the Saracens, is at the time engaged in a war with Tholomer (= Ptolemy), king of the Egyptians, and had recently suffered a severe defeat. He is, consequently, in a susceptible mood for arguments in favor of the new religion, which, according to Joseph's promises, will bring him victory over his enemies, if he should hearken to his (Joseph's) teachings. In due course of time, after a long train of events, which we need not

¹ Cp. p. 21 of the *Estoire del Saint Graal* in H. O. Sommer's edition, which constitutes Vol. I of his *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances* (7 vols., Washington, D. C.). This volume, although dated 1909, really appeared in 1910. The *Queste del Saint Graal* occupies pp. 3-199 of Vol. VI (1913) of the same work. My references to these romances in the following article are to Sommer's editions.

In *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIII (1918), 135 f., I have pointed out that Sarras, the name of the Saracen capital was obtained simply by cutting off *-in* from *Sarrasin*, the old French word for Saracen. Cp., especially, Sommer, I, 21, lines 8 ff.

² The origin of this name has not yet been fixed. For various suggestions on the subject, cp. R. Heinzel, *Über die französischen Gralromane*, pp. 137 ff. (Wien, 1891). J. Rhys is certainly wrong when he tries, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend* (Oxford, 1891), p. 324, to connect it with Welsh *Avallach* or *Avallon*. It is probably a corrupt form of some name in the Vulgate. The same thing is, doubtless, true of *Seraphe*, Nascien's name before he was converted to Christianity. I hope to return some day to the discussion of these and other names in the *Estoire*.

recapitulate here, Joseph's promises are fulfilled, Evalac triumphs over the Egyptians, a miracle of healing confirms still further the authenticity of the religion which Joseph taught, whereupon Evalac publicly confesses Christ and is baptized. As soon as he is baptized, his new, Christian, name, "Mordrain," appears on his forehead, and henceforth he is so called.³ Later on, contrary to God's command, he looks upon the Holy Grail and becomes blind and paralyzed, in consequence. He now retires, penitent, to a hermitage, and erects there an abbey of white monks. There he dies, after he has been visited by Galahad.⁴

Immediately before the baptism of the Saracen king, his brother-in-law, whose pagan name was Seraphe and who had been Mordrain's principal lieutenant in the war against Tholomer, had already been baptized and re-named Nascien (Nassien), by Joseph.⁵

In a previous article I have pointed out⁶ that the new name which Joseph conferred upon Seraphe, viz. *Nascien* (*Nassien*) is taken from the genealogy of Christ, *St. Matthew*, I, 4. It is the *Naasson* of that genealogy.⁷ I believe now that I have discovered also,—although in an entirely different field—the original of the Christian name, *Mordrain*, which was conferred upon Evalac after his conversion. It is, as I believe will be evident, a Germanic name—one which, in our extant records, however, seems to be preserved only in its Latinized forms, viz. *Maurdramnus*, *Maurdrannus*, *Mordramnus*, *Morthrannus*.

Now, it is to be presumed that more than one person must have borne this name in the course of the Middle Ages, but, after the

³ Cp. Sommer, I, 75.

⁴ For these later incidents in Mordrain's career cp. Sommer, I, 241-244, and VI, 185, respectively.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 74.

⁶ *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXXIII, 134 f.

⁷ There was a reason for naming the head of Galahad's paternal line (*Nascien*) after an ancestor of Christ (and one of the earliest), for in the Grail romances Galahad represents Christ—he is a sort of Knight Templar Christ. On the other hand, there would have been no justification for drawing Mordrain's Christian name from so exalted a source, since he was not a progenitor of Galahad. It was sufficient that he should be named after some high personage who was reputed to have led a holy life, Mordrain owes something, of course, to Chrétien's Fisher King. Like the latter, he was maimed (i. e., in his later career) and could only be healed by the coming of the Grail Winner.

most diligent search among all possible materials pertaining to the subject, in every instance where it occurs I find that it is always the name of the same person, viz. the abbot of the Benedictine monastery at Corbie in Picardy, who filled that office from 769 to 781.⁸ In the last-named year, Maurdrannus abdicated in favor of Adelard,—Charlemagne's cousin, who later (in 822) became famous as the founder of the monastery of Corvey (Nova Corbeia) in Saxony—and died, it appears, the same year. The earliest documents in which the name has been preserved are as follows:

1. An eighth century MS. of certain books of the Bible⁹—

⁸ For a history of the abbey of Corbie (Corbeia), which was situated at the junction of the Somme and the Corbie (a few kilometers east of Amiens), see *Gallia Christiana*, x, cols. 1263-1289 (16 vols., Paris, 1856-1874), where a list of its abbots is also given. The meagre information which has been preserved concerning Mordrannus (as he is there called) will be found col. 1266. Cp. also, the article on Corbie by Augustin Thierry, in the *Recueil des monuments inédits de l'histoire du tiers état*, III, 413 ff. (Paris, 1856).

According to Thierry, the abbey was founded "vers l'an 657 par la reine Bathilde et son fils Chlotaire III, sur un domaine appartenant au fisc et qui provenait d'un seigneur appelé Guntland" (p. 414). Towards the end of the ninth century the abbots took the title of counts by a royal grant. The abbey was burnt down by the Normans in 859 and 881, and besieged in 1185 by Philippe d'Alsace, Chrétien de Troyes' patron, but relieved by the troops of Philip Augustus. In 1194 (cp. Thierry, p. 419) we find that the people of Corbie had the figure of a crow on their banners. In a dispute in the year 1448 (cp. Thierry, p. 417, note 1) the monks asserted that St. Bathild had endowed their foundation with the estates of a count (purely imaginary, however), named *Corbant*. These fanciful etymologies are on a par with those in the *Estoire*.

⁹ For a description of this MS. cp. S. Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les premiers siècles du moyen âge*, p. 102 (Paris, 1893). It was in reading this passage in Berger that I first came across the name. *Maurdrannus*. It struck me at once that *Mordrains* was the French form of this name. On the other hand *Maurdrannus* was, itself, obviously, of Germanic origin, so that I looked up E. Förstemann's *Altdeutsches Namenbuch* (2nd edition, 2 vols., Bonn, 1900-1901), and found it listed there (I, col. 1118) under the heading, *Maurdrannus*. Förstemann gives references to the last three documents which I cite above, but the occurrence of the name in the MS. at Amiens had escaped his notice.

According to Förstemann, the name is connected with such Germanic names as *Maur* (*Moor*), *Mauricho* (*Moricho*), *Mauring* (*Moring*, *Morinc*), etc., and the first element in it is Latin *Maurus* = OHG. *môr* "Aethiops."

originally at Corbie, but latterly ms. No. 11 of the town library at Amiens. Here on fol. 96, at the end of *Maccabees*, stand the words "Ego Maudramnus . . . hoc volumen fieri jussi."

2. A list of names, entitled *Congregacio S. Amandi*, which is included in the old Confraternity Book of St. Peter's in Salzburg (Austria). The form of the name here is *Morthrannus*. Cp. the edition in the *Monumenta Germaniae: Necrologia Germaniae*, II, 9 (Berlin, 1890). S. Herzberg-Fränkell¹⁰ has proved that the name of Morthrannus, whom he rightly identifies with the abbot of Corbie, was entered in the list between the years 787 and 804.

3. An early list of the abbots of Corbie printed by B. Guérard, *Polyptique de l'abbé Irminon*, III, 338 f. (3 vols., Paris, 1844). The name is here (p. 339) written *Mordramnus*.

4. A document entitled *De Anniversario Ratoldi* (i. e., on the anniversary of an abbot of Corbie, who, it seems, had died within the year) and dated 986, which has been also printed by Guérard, *loc. cit.*, p. 337. Here we have the following entry: "XIII Kal.

The second element is, of course, OHG. (*h*)*raban* = raven. Professor Hermann Collitz of the Johns Hopkins University points out to me that *Maudramnus* is, in a sense, the same name as *R(h)abanus Maurus* (borne by the well-known German theologian of the ninth century), only the order of the elements is reversed. He suggests that the dental—*d* or *th*—which separates the two members of the compound in *Maudramnus*, *Morthramnus*, etc., is due to the analogy of names like *Beraht-hraban*, *Leud-ramnus*, *Theut-ramnus*, *Gunth-ramnus*, etc. He cites other OHG. names that show an inorganic dental from the same cause, e. g. *Aclet-ramnus* = *Agleramnus*, *Eberdolt* = *Eber-holt*, etc.

In the *Anzeiger für deutsches Altertum*, XXXVI, 9 f. (1913), Dietrich von Kralik explains the inorganic dental in these names in the same manner as Collitz, although he does not happen to mention just the name *Maudramnus* (or its variants) among his examples. Still further, he makes the important observation that Germanic names which end in *-ramnus*, preceded by a dental, that does not properly belong to them, are confined to France. The reason seems to be as follows: As the originally Germanic population adopted the *lingua romana*, they lost their sense of the true composition of names like *Leudramnus*, *Gunthramnus*, etc., and came to regard *-dramnus*, *-t(h)ramnus*, not *-ramnus*, as the second element in such compounds. This misconception, accordingly, led to the substitution of *-dramnus*, *-t(h)ramnus* for *-ramnus* in names where before there had been no dental.

¹⁰ Cp. pp. 95 f. of his article, "Ueber das älteste Verbrüderungsbuch von St. Peter in Salzburg," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichtskunde*, XII, 55 ff. (Hannover, 1887).

junii [year not designated] obiit Maurdrannus abbas qui Tanedas Montem dedit nobis. Videte ne ejus memoria obliviscatur: praepositus inde fratribus pastum facere debet."

In the identification of *Maurdrannus*, *Mordramnus* (and variants) with *Mordrain* only one morphological detail requires explanation, viz. the presence of the *i*. Usually the suffix *-amn* in Germanic proper names develops into *-am* (later, *-an*) in Old French.¹¹ The *-ain* which we have in the present case for *-am* most probably originated in the blunder of a copyist, who interpreted the three strokes, which in mediæval writing made up both *m* and *in*, as meaning the latter.¹² Possible, too, is the outright substitution of a familiar termination (*-ain*) in French proper names for a comparatively rare one (*-am*).

Assuming that the identification¹³ which I have proposed is

¹¹ Cp. OHG. *Berhtramn*, *Baldramn*, etc., with the corresponding OF. *Bertram*, *Baudram*, etc.

The variant *Mordrannus*, would naturally have given *Mordrans* in Old French. Cp. Latin *annum*, *pannum*, with Old French *an*, *pan*, respectively. Through some mistake of hearing or copying, *Mordrans* may then have become *Mordrains*. The form, *Mordrannus*, accordingly, would serve just as well as the starting-point of our romancer's *Mordrains* as the form, *Maurdrannus*.

¹² There was, of course, usually a flourish over the *i*, to distinguish it, but this was sometimes omitted.

¹³ Rhys, *Studies in the Arthurian Legend*, p. 324, endeavors to connect *Mordrain* with *Avallach*, his hypothetical Welsh king of the dead. He does this, however, as I have said above, through the character's heathen name, *Evalach*, not through his Christian name. On the other hand, A. N. Wesseloſsky takes as the true form of the name what is really an occasional corrupt variant (e. g. in the *Livre d'Artus* of MS. 337, Sommer, VII, 146, 261, viz. *Mogdanis*, and derives this from *Mygdonia*, ancient name for a part of Northern Mesopotamia. It, also, occurs, he observes, as a personal name in the legendary *Acts of Thomas*. See, on the subject of this whole derivation, his article, "Zur Frage über die Heimath der Legende vom heiligen Gral," *Archiv für Slavische Philologie*, XXIII, 348 ff. This, however, is only one of Wesseloſsky's fantastic attempts in that article to derive the names of the *Estoire* from the Orient. It does not deserve serious consideration. Our MSS. show other corruptions of *Mordrain*, viz. *Mordains*, *Noodrans* (once in Manessier), *Mordrach* (Gerbert), etc.

In the passage of the *Estoire* (Sommer, I, 75) where the name, *Mordrains*, is said to have suddenly appeared on that character's forehead when he was converted to Christianity, this name is interpreted as meaning "tardif en creance," and the name of Clamacides, whose arm was miracu-

correct and remembering what I have stated already—namely, that in the extant documents the name is always that of the above-mentioned abbot of Corbie—it is, I believe, a safe inference for us to draw, that the name which we find in its French form in our Grail romances is, also, derived from this same personage. This derivation, in turn, might explain the singular circumstance that, according to the *Estoire del Saint Graal*, the Saracen king was born at Meaux in France, the son of a cobbler there.¹⁴

The ecclesiastical authorship of both the *Queste del Saint Graal* and *Estoire del Saint Graal* is beyond dispute. Now, what ecclesiastic would have an interest in conferring on the converted heathen king the name of this relatively obscure abbot, who died something upwards of four hundred years before either romance was composed? Obviously, only some monk of this particular abbey. And if this is true, we have established the place of origin of the romance in which Mordrain first makes his appearance in litera-

lously restored to him at the same time, is interpreted as "gonfanouniers nostre signor." Moreover, a MS. quoted by Hucher in his edition of the *Estoire*, in *Le Saint Graal*, II, 293, note 6, (Le Mans, 1874), adds that *Mogdanis* (the variant here used for *Mordrains*) means "en Caldeu" "tardis en creance." The words, "en Caldeu," however, constitute, no doubt, an isolated unauthorized variant of this MS., in imitation of the assertion (Sommer, I, 288) that *Corbenic* (name of the Grail castle) is a Chaldee word. For the rest, these pretended interpretations of the two names are just a part of the author's pious humbuggery.

¹⁴Cp. Sommer, I, 47. According to the tale there told, Mordrain was one of a hundred girls and boys demanded of France by Augustus, emperor of Rome. Augustus's successor, Tiberius, gave him to Felix, governor of Syria. In a quarrel, he slew Felix's son and fled to Tholomer, then king of Babylon. He served Tholomer well and became one of his vassals.

The meagre data concerning Maudramnus that have come down to modern times do not include any information in regard to his antecedents or the place of his birth. Such a tradition, however, as the one mentioned above, may very well have still existed at the time the Grail romances were composed in the abbey of which he was once the head.

Meaux is again mentioned in the Vulgate cycle, viz. in the *Mort Artu* branch, Sommer, VI, 345. Gawain is borne there, after being wounded in his duel with Lancelot. As Sommer, however, *ibid.*, note 9, observes, it may be an accidental coincidence that the name of this place should occur in the two romances (in a single passage in each). There is certainly nothing in either passage to suggest the use of this particular town in the other.

ture.¹⁵ For the moment I will leave aside the question as to whether this romance was the *Queste* or the *Estoire* and take up the next name which I propose to discuss, viz. *Corbenic*,¹⁶ the name of the Grail castle in these two romances.

If a monkish romancer does not hesitate to endue one of the chief characters of the Grail story with the name of a former head of an abbey (doubtless, his own) in Picardy, why should he or a fellow-romancer of the same class shrink from taking the name of the Grail castle from the site of another Benedictine monastery in the same general region—one which was particularly famous on account of its connection with the most remarkable wonder-working

¹⁵ It is probably fortuitous that Christ is represented in the *Estoire*, (Sommer, I, 4) as giving this book to the author of its pretended introduction in the same century (it was in the year 717) as that in which Maudramnus lived, and indeed, very likely, during his lifetime—for there would be nothing strange about it, if he were upwards of fifty-two, when elected abbot of Corbie in 769. To be sure, no satisfactory explanation has ever been offered of the author's selection of that date for this fictitious revelation of his book to the world. On the other hand, when the *Queste* (Sommer, VI, 62) speaks of Mordrain's having lived miraculously four hundred years, one cannot help being struck with the coincidence that just about four hundred years had actually elapsed between the death of Maudramnus (in 781, apparently) and the composition of the *Queste* (first decade of the thirteenth century).

One other circumstance is, perhaps, also, worth noting: Mordrain was a king. Now, whilst Maudramnus was abbot of Corbie, a king, who, like Mordrain, had formerly been a warrior, but during the period of his retirement, distinguished himself by his piety and the strictness of his religious observances, was actually in residence there. I refer to Desiderius, king of Lombardy. Charlemagne married Desiderius's daughter, but afterwards put her away. A war ensued, and Charlemagne, having captured his quondam father-in-law and deprived him of his dominions, compelled him to enter the monastery at Corbie, in the year 774. In regard to these events it is recorded in the *Annales Sangallenses Maiores*, under the year, 774 (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Scriptorum Tomus I*, p. 75, Hannover, 1826): "Paveia [i. e. Pavia, Desiderius's capital] conquisita, et rex Desiderius et Ansa uxor eius pariter exiliati sunt ad Chorbeiam, et ibi Desiderius in vigiliis et orationibus et ieiuniis et multis bonis operibus permansit usque ad diem obitus sui."

It is possible that this pious king, who must have been in constant association with Maudramnus, after his entrance into the latter's monastery, may have had some share in shaping our romancer's conception of Mordrain.

¹⁶ There are, of course, corrupt variants of the name in our MSS., viz., *Corbeninc*, *Corberic*, *Corbiere*, etc.

shrine, perhaps, in the whole of Northern France? As a matter of fact, I believe that this is what actually happened: In other words, I identify the name, *Corbenic*, with that of *Corbiniacum*, *Corben(n)acum*, *Corbanacum*, *Carbonacum*¹⁷—or, as it is now called, Corbény, which lies—or did lie before the recent war—some nineteen kilometers southeast of Laon. No valid objection can be urged against this identification, and the derivation, would, no doubt, have been proposed long ago, were it not for the all but ineradicable notion that everything in Arthurian romance must be traced back to some folk-tale.¹⁸

From the eighth to the tenth century, during the reigns of Pepin, Charlemagne and Charles the Simple, there was a royal palace at Corbény which these monarchs often occupied. Moreover, in the year 898, whilst Charles the Simple was king, the monks of Nanteuil, fleeing from the Norman invaders, brought to this place the bones of St. Marculf, the apostle of Jersey. This incident led a few years afterwards to the founding of a monastery there, and the shrine of St. Marculf acquired the reputation for a peculiar sanctity which persisted through many generations thereafter.

Beginning at least as early as the first part of the thirteenth century and down into the seventeenth century, immediately after their coronation at Rheims, the French sovereigns were accustomed to spend nine days at Corbény, to be near the above-mentioned

¹⁷ I have derived these variants from Book IV (*Francorum Regum Palatia*) of Dom J. Mabillon's *De Re Diplomatica*, I, 288 f. (2 vols., Naples, 1789) and the article on Corbény (Corbéni), entitled "Appendix De Prioratu Corbiniaci seu S. Marculfi," in *Gallia Christiana*, IX, cols. 239 ff. The place is so well-known, however, that all necessary information will be found in the encyclopædias under *Corbény*, e. g. in the *Nouveau Larousse*.

¹⁸ E. Brugger, *Zs. f. frz. Spr. u. Litt.* XXVIII, 25 (1905), suggests that it comes from *Caer Berwick* (i. e. Berwick, on the border between England and Scotland). Elsewhere he wishes to connect it with *Coto(v)atre* (Chrétien's *Perceval*, l. 3637), where the marvellous smith, Trebuchet, lived.—I had assembled all the materials for this article when I observed that for a moment the possibility of the identification which I have made suggested itself to Paul Hagen in his treatise, *Der Gral*, p. 6 (Strassburg, 1900), but he makes nothing of it. He first suggests that *Corbenic* may be identical with the city or palace called *Briebric* in the legend of Prester-John—then adds "Andererseits fiel mir die Namensähnlichkeit auf mit Corbény (Corbiniacum), *depart. Aisne, arrond. Laon*, dem alten fränkischen Königsschloss, das später in den Besitz der Mönche von St. Remy in Rheims überging." With these words he drops the subject.

shrine.¹⁹ It was from St. Marculf, too, that they were supposed to derive the power which was attributed to them of curing the scrofula, or king's evil, by touch. It was only natural, then, that our romancer should have borrowed from this place with its double associations of royal power and miracle-working sanctity the name of the Grail castle, or "palace," as it is, also, often called both in the *Queste* and *Estoire*.²⁰ The author of the latter romance, to be sure, indulges in some of his customary mystical flummery when he declares (Sommer, I, 288) that *Corbenic* is a Chaldee word, meaning "saintisme uaisel" ("most holy vessel"). With an eye to the Grail vessel, itself, he is here really trying to connect the name, *Corbenic*, with the word *Corbona* (*Corbana*)—the term applied in the Middle Ages to the almsbox in which various offerings at church were received.²¹ This word, in turn, came into mediæval usage, of course, from *St. Matthew*, XXVII, 6, where Judas, throwing down the thirty pieces of silver for which he had betrayed Our Lord, says, "Non licet eos mittere in corbonam, quia pretium sanguinis est." The word is really of Hebrew origin, *Corban* in that language meaning "gift," "offering," "oblation." Thus in *St. Mark*, VII, 11, Jesus, contrasting the conduct of the Pharisees with the commandments of Moses, says: "Vos autem

¹⁹ This particular custom and that which is described in the next sentence began after the composition of the Grail romances was completed, but they show how renowned for sanctity the shrine already was.

²⁰ See, for example, "palais," Sommer, II, 288, VI, 13, 179, "palais auentureus," *ibid.*, II, 289, "palais espiritel," VI, 194, 197. So, frequently, in the Grail passages of the prose *Lancelot*, where, indeed, it is not unlikely that the term, "aaventureus," was first applied to the Grail castle. This term in our MS. of the *Estoire* was very probably introduced by a redactor from that source.

²¹ It had, also, kindred derivative meanings. Cp. Ducange under *Corbona*, *Corbana*, *Corbanum*. He quotes, for example, Papius: "Corbonam, ubi pecunia sacerdotum erat, et interpretatur oblatio, et ut dicitur in historiis super Actus Apostolorum Corbonan erat area in qua reponebantur donaria sacerdotum." He quotes, likewise, from a decree of the Parliament of Paris dated June 1, 1403: "Vas nuncupatur Corbanum in quo pecunie pro missis necessariis fiendis deponi consueverant."

In his treatise, *Ueber die französischen Gralromane*, p. 155, Heinzel, with reference to this passage in the *Estoire*, asks, "Ist *Qorban* Opfer gemeint wie bei den Mensa die Eucharistie heisst?" But the word, *Corbona*, in its ordinary meaning (as drawn from *St. Matthew*, XXVII, 6) was, no doubt, in the author's mind.

dicitis: Si dixerit homo patri aut matri, Corban (quod est donum), quodeumque ex me, tibi profuerit."

It only remains now to determine the romance, or romances, which first introduced into Arthurian literature these names, *Mordrain* and *Corbenic*. Did the *Queste* introduce one and the *Estoire* the other, or was one of these romances, in the first instance, responsible for both?

There would be no room for this question, if Miss Weston and Brugger²² were right in their opinion that the two romances, just named, had the same author. To my mind, however, the probabilities do not favor this view. It is of no great significance, perhaps, that these romances, as preserved in our MSS., show here and there contradictory conceptions,²³ for, aside from the bare possibility that such contradictions may be explained as mere lapses of memory on the part of the author, there is the still further possibility that they may be due to the blunders of a redactor who was attempting to adjust the one romance to the other. It is rather on differences of style that I would rest the case for separate authorship. In the *Queste* the asceticism is fiercer, the application of the principle of allegorical interpretation more relentless. The author of the *Estoire* dwells on descriptions of battle with a manifest gusto which seems to me inconceivable in the author of the *Queste*.²⁴ Altogether, although both romances are plainly the

²² Cp. Miss J. L. Weston, *Legend of Sir Lancelot*, p. 139 (London, 1901) and E. Brugger, *Zs. f. frz. Spr. u. Litt.*, XXIX, 89, note 45 (1905).

²³ For example, in the *Queste*, (Sommer, VI, 25), Mordrain and Nascien are represented as going together to Great Britain, whereas in the *Estoire* (*ibid.*, I, 233) Nascien was already there. Cp. too, the accounts of the Grail Table in the *Queste* (VI, 55) and *Estoire* (I, 247), respectively.

²⁴ Cp., particularly, the narrative of the wars between Evalac and Tholomer, and between Forcaire and Pompey in the *Estoire* (Sommer, I, 46 ff., 89 ff., respectively). The case against single authorship would be still stronger, if we could accept as a genuine episode of the *Estoire* the prose *fabliau* (Sommer, I, 171 ff.) relating how the wise physician, Hippocrates, was beguiled by a woman. But, like the Grimaud episode (Hucher's edition, III, 311 ff.),—which, however, did not get established in the tradition of the text—it is, doubtless, an interpolation. It is manifest that considerable additions were made to the original *Estoire*. Thus the Bron-Alain group, first introduced at I, 247 (Sommer's edition) from Robert de Borron, is irreconcilable with the narrative concerning the Grail up to that point, in which the action had been carried on by an entirely different set of characters—Joseph excepted.

products of ecclesiastical workshops, the *Queste* has the stamp of austerity in a far greater degree than the *Estoire*.

It is generally agreed that the *Queste* antedates the *Estoire*. The author of the latter evidently composed his romance as an early history of the sacred vessel (the Grail) which constituted the object of the quest of Galahad and his companions in the former. Subsequently either the author of the *Estoire*, or, more probably, a redactor of the cycle, adjusted the *Queste* to this new early history of the Grail. It is not obvious, then, at a glance whether such and such a feature which the two romances may have in common originated with the one or the other.

As far, however, as Mordrain is concerned, it is safe to assert that this character was invented by the author of the *Estoire*. There is really no place for him in the scheme of the *Queste*, whereas his story is well suited to form one of the elements in the narrative that is planned to establish the glory of the Grail and its keeper (Joseph), when the sacred vessel, as yet unknown, first started on its wanderings. In a brief passage at the end of the *Queste*²⁵ he is healed by the arrival of Galahad, the destined Grail Winner, preparation for this having been already made in the *Estoire*. Otherwise, the only passages about the character²⁶ in this romance are mere summaries of what had been related concerning him in the *Estoire*. They are, to all intents and purposes, on a par with that other passage in the *Queste*²⁷ which is drawn textually from the *Estoire*, viz. the one concerning the three staves.

With regard to Corbenic, the question is somewhat more difficult to decide. This name for the Grail castle occurs in the *Queste* five times,²⁸ which is a surprisingly small number of occurrences, when one considers the prominence of this castle in the narrative of that romance. As a rule, the Grail castle is left unnamed in the *Queste*, just as in Chrétien's *Conte del Graal* and its continuations.²⁹ Nevertheless, the five instances cited occur in widely

²⁵ Sommer, vi. 184 f.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 24 ff., 60 ff., 96 ff.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 151 ff.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 59, 142, 182, 187. It should be noted that Sommer's Index is misleading as to the number of occurrences of names: He cites, without distinction, passages where the place or person is merely alluded to, as if such place or person were there actually named.

²⁹ It is to be observed that the earlier continuations, pseudo-Wauchier and Wauchier,—especially the former—constitute an important source for the

separated passages of the *Queste*. In the *Estoire*, on the other hand, Corbenic is found as the name of the Grail castle only three times,³⁰ and two of these instances are in the same sentence and the third on the following page. The sentence referred to is the one in which it said that just after the building of the Grail castle the name, *Corbenic*, appeared in freshly written letters on one of its doors and the author explains, as stated above, that this name was a Chaldee word, meaning "most holy vessel."

The more frequent occurrences of the name in the *Queste* would seem to tell in favor of the author of this romance as the person who first applied it to the Grail castle. Moreover, I believe that a writer would have been much more likely to perpetrate the fanciful etymology of *Corbenic*, mentioned above, on a name that was already established than on one that he was, himself, proposing for the first time. Altogether, then, it seems natural to conclude that *Corbenic*, as the name of the Grail castle, first appeared in the *Queste*.

What inference in regard to the origin of the *Queste* are we to draw from the application of this name of an actual place in Northern France to the mystic palace of the Grail? I do not think that we should be justified in concluding from this circumstance that the *Queste* was composed at Corbény. An author would hardly have given the mystic, elusive, palace the name of a place where he himself lived.³¹ This would much more probably be the act of

Queste. I note that the *Queste*, as it seems to me, is indebted to these continuations in the following points for which Chrétien furnishes no suggestion: 1. The Fisher King (Pelles) is not maimed. 2. The Grail is brought into the hall supernaturally, and not by attendants. 3. The dolorous stroke which causes the blight of the land. 4. The importance ascribed to the joining of the sword. 5. The chapel and the bodyless hand. 6. Perceval's sister.

³⁰ Sommer, I, 288 (twice), 289.

In the prose *Lancelot Corbenic* is the name given to the Grail castle everywhere, except in the episode of Gawain's visit (Sommer, IV, 339 ff.), where it remains unnamed. This is, doubtless, one of the many signs of the influence of Chrétien's *Perceval* on that episode. See my remarks on the subject, *Romanic Review*, IX, 359 ff. (1918). The *Lancelot*, no doubt, derives the name from the *Queste*.

³¹ Wolfram von Eschenbach, however, appears to have done this. In his *Parzival*, p. 230, ll. 12 f., he speaks of Wildenbere (in Odenwald?) in terms which seem to show that that was his home. Certainly, he was then composing his poem there. On the other hand, he alone among the Grail poets

a man who lived elsewhere, yet had an interest in Corbény, as a fellow-Benedictine.³² Now, inasmuch as there is reason to believe that the other great Grail romance of the Vulgate cycle (the *Estoire*) was composed at Corbie, it is most likely that this was, also, the place of origin of the *Queste*. According, then, to the evidence which I have set forth in this article it would seem that the author of the *Queste*, who was the first to supplant Perceval by Galahad in the Grail tradition, wrote his romance at Corbie, and that a monk of the same abbey followed it up a few years later with the *Estoire*.

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LUCAN'S PHARSALIA AND JONSON'S CATILINE

In his discussion of "Source-Material for Jonson's Plays" (*M. L. N.*, xxxi), Professor Briggs commented upon the poor working up of the sources for *Catiline*. I shall present here the patent borrowings from Lucan's *Pharsalia*. For the text of *Catiline* I follow a copy of the 1616 Folio; for Lucan, the edition of Haskins.

I, I.

A Senecan prologue is spoken by the ghost of Sulla. The selection of Sulla's ghost is clearly influenced by *Pharsalia*, I, 580:

Et medio visi consurgere Campo
Tristia Sullani cecinere oracula manes.¹

calls the Grail castle (251-2) *Munsalvaesche* (= *Mont Salvage*), which is the exact equivalent of *Wildenbere*. Perhaps the identification was a stroke of humor.

³² The similarity of names—*Corbie* and *Corbény*—may have suggested to the author the use of the latter name. It may seem strange that the *Estoire* (I, 244) should make Mordrain found an abbey of White Monks (Cistercians), instead of Benedictines, since Corbie, itself, was a Benedictine monastery. But a writer of romances has freedom in such matters, and, after all, Maurdrumnus was not the founder of Corbie.

¹ The rise of the curtain discovers Catiline in his study. The following echoes Lucan:

I can loose
My pietie; and in her stony entrailles
Dig me a seate.

Phars., I, 2:

Canimus populumque potentem
In sua victrici conversum viscera dextra.

The conspirators shortly meet at Catiline's house. The six lines beginning 'It is, me thinks, a morning, full of fate!' Briggs has referred to *Phars.*, I; 233-6. The conspirators boast of what they will do when in power:

I would haue seene . . .

The degenerate, talking gowne runne frighted . . .

O, the dayes

Of SYLLA's sway, when the free sword tooke leaue
To act all that it would! . . .

Sonnes kild fathers,

Brothers their brothers

All hate had licence giuen it: all rage raines. . . .

No age was spar'd . . . no degree.

Not infants in the porch of life were free.

The sick, the old, that could but hope a day
Longer, by natures bountie, not let stay. . . .

'Twas crime inough, that they had liues.

To strike but onely those, that could doe hurt,
Was dull, and poore. Some fell to make the number. . . .

The rugged CHÆRON fainted,²

And ask'd a nauy, rather then a boate,
To ferry ouer the sad world that came:
The mawes, and dens of beasts could not receiue
The bodies, that those soules were frighted from;
And e'en the graues were fild with men, yet liuing.
Whose flight, and feare had mix'd them, with the dead. . . .

The statues melt againe; and houshold gods
In grones confesse the trauaile of the citie.

Whalley had referred some of these lines, although not all, to Lucan. The following is complete:

Degenerem patiere togam (I, 365).
Lateque yagatur
Ensis et a nullo revocatum est pectore ferrum (II, 102).
Nati maduere paterno
Sanguine (II, 149).
In fratrum ceciderunt praemia fratres (II, 151).
Tum data libertas odiis, resolutaque legum
Frenis ira ruit (II, 145).
Nulli sua profuit aetas (II, 104)
Nobilitas cum plebe perit (II, 101).

² Briggs pointed out another parallel for this passage in Petronius, *Sat.*, 121, 117. As Jonson has been utilizing Lucan so much at this point, however, it would seem rather that the leading idea was from Lucan, and that the hints from Petronius were worked in as an embellishment.

Nec primo in limine vitae
 Infantis miseri nascentia rumpere fata (II, 106).
 Non senis extremum piguit vergentibus annis
 Praecipitasse diem (II, 105).
 Sed satis est iam posse mori (II, 109).
 Et visum est lenti quaesisse nocentem,
 In numerum pars magna perit (II, 110).
 Praeparat innumeras puppes Acherontis adusti
 Portitor (III, 16).
 Busta repleta fuga, permixtaque viva sepultis
 Corpora: nec populum latebrae cepere ferarum (II, 152).
 Indigetes flevisse deos urbisque laborem
 Testatos sudore Lares (I, 556).

Several of the portents occurring during the meeting were suggested by the *Pharsalia*: sudden darkness (VII, 451), extinction of the vestal flame (I, 549), groans (VIII, 760), and a bloody arm waving a torch (I, 572). Cethegus dismisses their fears: 'We feare what our selues faine,' echoing *Phars.*, I, 146: 'Quae finxere timent.' A moment later Cethegus says, 'Differing hurts, where powers are so prepar'd'; *Phars.*, I, 281: 'Semper nocuit differe paratis.'

In the chorus following, the description of Rome's luxury seems largely suggested by the account of Cleopatra's dinner to Cæsar, in *Phars.*, X, 104 ff.—silk couches, ivory tables, gold and crystal goblets, and the like.

III, I.

Cethegus again boasts of what the conspirators will do:

Then is't a prey,
 When danger stops, and ruine makes the way.

So *Phars.*, I, 149-50:

Impellens quidquid sibi summa petenti
 Obstaret, gaudensque viam fecisse ruina.

III, II.

Fulvia visits Cicero, and acquaints him with the plot. Eight lines of Cicero's speech beginning, 'Is there a heauen?' are imitated from *Phars.*, III, 445 ff.³

³ Compare also Seneca, *Hippolytus*, 671 ff.

A little later Cicero says, 'For vnto whom *Rome* is too little, what can be inough?' From *Phars.*, v, 274: 'Quid satis est si Roma parum?'

IV, II.

After Cicero's oration, Catiline rises to answer. He speaks derisively of Cicero:

The gods would rather twentie *Romes* should perish,
Then haue that contumely stuck vpon 'hem,
That he should share with them, in the preseruing
A shed, or signe-post.

On seeing that Cicero is terrified, Catiline exclaims:

In vaine thou do'st conceiue, ambitious orator,
Hope of so braue a death, as by this hand.

Briggs mistakenly connected this passage with a passage in the *Æneid*, XI, 406 ff. For both passages cited, Jonson evidently had in mind the Cæsar-Metellus incident in *Phars.*, III, 138 ff., 134 ff.:

Non usque adeo permiscuit imis
Longus summa dies, ut non, si voce Metelli
Seruentur leges, malint a Caesare tolli.

Vanam spem mortis honestae
Concipis: haud, inquit, iugulo se polluet isto
Nostra, Metelle, manus.

Catiline continues:

Nor honor . . .
Shall make thee worthy CATILINES anger.

Phars., III, 136:

Dignum te Caesaris ira
Nullus honos faciet.

IV, v.

On Catiline's leaving the city, the other conspirators try to tempt the Allobrogian ambassadors. Cethegus breaks out:

Why . . . talke you so long? This time
Had been inough . . .
T'haue . . . made the world
Despaire of day.

Phars., I, 543:

Gentesque coegit
Desperare diem.

V, VI.

The conclusion presents Petreius relating Catiline's end:

For in such warre, the conquest still is black. . . .
And all his hosts had standing in their lookes,
The palenesse of the death, that was to come. . . .

But himselfe
Strooke the first stroke; and, with it, fled a life.
Which cut, it seem'd, a narrow necke of land,
Had broke between two mightie seas; and either
Flow'd into other; for so did the slaughter:
And whirl'd about, as when two violent tides
Meet, and not yeeld. . . .
They knew not, what a crime their valour was. . . ,

(Catiline) ran in
Into our battaile like a *Lybian* lyon,
Vpon his hunters, scornefull of our weapons,
Careless of wounds, plucking downe liues about him,
Till he had circled in himselfe with death:
Then fell he too, t'embrace it where it lay . . .
And as, in that rebellion 'gainst the gods,
MINERVA holding forth MEDUSA's head,
One of the gyant brethren felt himselfe
Grow marble at the killing sight, and now,
Almost made stone, began t'inquire, what flint,
What rocke it was, that crept through all his limmes,
And, ere he could thinke more, was that he fear'd,
So CATILINE.

Compare with these lines the following passages from the
Pharsalia:

Omne malum victi, quod sors feret ultima rerum,
Omne nefas victoris erit (VII, 122).

Multorum pallor in ore
Mortis venturae est (VII, 129).

Qualiter undas
Qui secat et geminum gracilis mare separat Isthmos
Nec patitur conferre fretum, si terra recedat,
Ionium Aegaeo frangat mare: sic, ubi saeva
Arma ducum dirimens miserando funere Crassus
Assyrias Latio maculavit sanguine Carras,
Parthica Romanos solverunt damna furores (I, 100 ff.).

Et qui nesciret in armis
 Quam magnum virtus crimen civilibus esset (VI, 147).
 Sicut squalentibus arvis
 Aestiferae Libyes viso leo comminus hoste
 Subsedit dubius totam dum collegit iram;
 Tum torta levis si lancea Mauri
 Haereat, aut latum subeant venabula pectus;
 Per ferrum tanti securus volneris exit (I, 205 ff.).
 Quem, qui recto se lumine vidit
 Passa Medusa mori est? rapuit dubitantia fata
 Pervenitque metus: anima periere retenta
 Membra nec emissae riguere sub ossibus umbrae.
 Coeloque timente
 Olim Phlegraeo stantis serpente gigantes,
 Erexit montes, bellumque inmane deorum
 Pallados in medio confecit pectore Gorgon (IX, 638 ff., 654 ff.).

Another parallel to the last figure, it should be said, even closer in some respects, is to be found in Claudian, *Car.*, 53. An examination will show that the leading ideas of the two poets have been cleverly interwoven.

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ROBERT BARON'S TRAGEDY OF *MIRZA*

That Robert Baron's tragedy of *Mirza* shows imitations of Jonson has already been indicated, but only, so far as I am aware, in general terms. Langbaine, who has put the matter so mildly that his words are almost humorous, says:¹ "The Author seems to have propos'd for his pattern the famous *Catiline*, writ by Ben. Jonson: and has in several places not only hit the model of his Scenes: but even imitated the Language tolerably, for a young Writer." To show how very "tolerably" Baron had "imitated the language, for a young writer," Langbaine transcribes the first six lines spoken by Sylla's ghost in *Catiline*, and compares with them the first eight lines spoken by Emir-hamze-mirza's ghost in *Mirza*; but he proceeds no further into the matter. Warton tells us that *Mirza* is nothing more or less than a copy of Jonson's *Catiline*.² This, however, is a gross exaggeration. Gifford, who

¹ *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (1691), p. 12.

² *Poems upon Several Occasions, English, Italian, and Latin, with Translations*, by John Milton (1791), p. 407.

is more specific than either Langbaine or Warton, states in a note to the first speech of Catiline:³ "Robert Baron, in his tragedy of *Mirza*, not content with borrowing the plan and distribution of Catiline, has taken almost the whole of this and the preceding speech to himself. If we are not more honest than our ancestors, we certainly are at more pains to conceal our thefts; for Baron's plagiarisms are open and undisguised." Gifford fails to tell us that Baron, in one of his notes, confesses his indebtedness to Jonson:⁴ "Emir-hamze-mirza's Ghost, irritating his Brother Abbas to revenge him upon himself, bids him act those things upon his Son, which his very enemies shall pity (not without the example of the matchless *Johnson*, who, in his *Catiline* (which miraculous *Poem* I propose as my pattern) makes *Sylla's* Ghost persuade *Catiline* to do what *Hannibal* could not wish)."

Inasmuch as Baron's indebtedness to Jonson has, at best, been vaguely and inaccurately described, I shall attempt to disclose its extent and its precise nature. In the following list of borrowed passages I do not pretend to have gathered all that might be found—doubtless another reader would find more—but I have given, I think, all the important borrowings. And from an examination of these passages the reader will be able to observe the peculiar way in which Baron has adapted Jonson to his own uses.⁵

[*The Ghost of Sylla rises.*]

Behold, I come, sent from the
Stygian sound,
As a dire vapour that had cleft the
ground,
To ingender with the night, and
blast the day;
Or like a pestilence that should display
Infection through the world: which
thus I do.

[*Emir-hamze-mirza's Ghost.*]

.. behold, I come, from the dark
Lake,
To be thy evill *Genius*, and distill
Into thy darker bosom deeds shall
fill
The measure of thy sins up, and
pull down,
With violent hand, heavens vengeance
on thy Crown.

³ *The Works of Ben Jonson*, Cunningham-Gifford, three-volume ed., II, 80, n.

⁴ *Mirza* (1647), M.

⁵ In the quotations from Jonson the page numbers refer to the Cunningham-Gifford three-volume edition. The quotations from *Mirza* are from a copy of the original edition in the possession of Professor Joseph Q. Adams.

[*The curtain draws, and Catiline is discovered in his study.*]

Pluto be at thy counsels, and into
Thy darker bosom enter Sylla's
spirit;

All that was mine, and bad, thy
breast inherit.

Alas, how weak is that for Catiline!

Did I but say—vain voice!—all
that was mine?—

All that the Gracchi, Cinna, Marius
would,

What now, had I a body again, I
could,

Coming from hell, what fiends would
wish should be,

And Hannibal could not have wished
to see,

Think thou, and practise.

. . . fate will have thee pursue
Deeds, after which no mischief can
be new.

[*Catiline rises and comes forward.*]

Cat. It is decreed: nor shall thy
fate, O Rome,

Resist my vow. Though hills were
set on hills,

And seas met seas to guard thee, I
would through;

Ay, plough up rocks, steep as the
Alps, in dust,

And lave the Tyrrhene waters into
clouds,

But I would reach thy head, thy
head, proud city!

The ills that I have done cannot be
safe

But by attempting greater; and I
feel

A spirit within me chides my slug-
gish hands,

And says, they have been innocent
too long.

[*Discovers Abbas in his study.*]

The foul Fiend aid thy counsels;
and unto

Thee dictate what he would, but
cannot do.

.
Inherit all my fury, and obey
What jealousy shall prompt; mine
did I say?

Alas! (vain voice!) how weak is
that for thee!

The spirits of all unnaturall
Fathers be

Doubled upon thee. Act what the
Mogull

And *Turk* shall start to hear, what
th' *Tartar* shal

Pitty, what *Bahaman* could not
wish should be,

And the *Arabian* will lament to see.
Faulter not in thy course now, but

pursue
New mischiefs, till no mischief can
be new.

[*Abbas.*]

The vow is made, nor shall thy
flattering Fate

O *Mirza* contradict it; though thy
Troops

Stood like a wall about thee, nay,
though *Iovè*

Presse all the Gods to guard thee,
and should arme

Them every one with Thunder, I
would through:

I'll tear the groundsell of thy
Towers up;

And make their nodding spires kisse
the Centre,

But I will reach thy heart, thy
heart, proud Victor.

The power that I have climb'd to
ere my time

Cannot be safe, if any reach too
near it.

Was I a man bred great as Rome
herself,
One formed for all her honours, all
her glories,
Equal to all her titles; that could
stand
Close up with Atlas, and sustain her
name
As strong as he doth heaven! and
was I,
Of all her brood, marked out for the
repulse
By her no-voice, when I stood can-
didate
To be commander in the Pontiac
war!
I will hereafter call her stepdame
ever.
If she can lose her nature, I can
lose
My piety, and in her stony entrails
Dig me a seat.

[Enter Aurelia Orestilla.]

Who's there?

Aur. 'Tis I.

Cat. Aurelia?

Aur. Yes.

Cat. Appear,

And break like day, my beauty, to
this circle;

Upbraid thy Phœbus, that he is so
long

In mounting to that point, which
should give thee

Thy proper splendour. Wherefore
frowns my sweet?

Have I too long been absent from
these lips,

This cheek, these eyes?

[Kisses them.]

Catiline, p. 79.

[Love] made my emergent fortune
once more look

Above the main; which now shall
hit the stars,

I feel my Crowns totter upon my
head,

Methinks, and see him ready stand
to latch them.

Was I a Prince, born to the *Persian*
greatnesse?

Set equall with the Gods? and as
ador'd

As is the Sun our Brother? and
shall I

Be bearded by a Son, a beam of me?
And like a Cypher add but to his
value?

I will, hereafter, call thee viper,
ever.

If thou canst lose thy filiall Duty, I
Can lose my Bowells, and on thy
ruines build

A Pyramid to my revenge and
safety.

[Enter Floradella.]

Who's that?

Flo. 'Tis I.

Abb. My *Floradella*?

Flo. Yes.

Abb. Enter my sweet: welcome
as earliest light

To th' infant world; and with thee
ever bring

A thousand Comforts to my thought-
full breast.

But why doth sadnesse invade Beau-
ties Kingdom?

And these faire eyes eclips their
glorious splendour,

With vailles of melancholly? . . .

[He kisseth them.]

Mirza, p. 1.

Till his encomiums hit the starrs,
and stick

- And stick my Orestilla there His Idolized name amongst them.
amongst them. *Mirza*, p. 4.
Catiline, p. 81.
- Who's that? It is the voice of Who's that? It is the voice of
Lentulus. *Beltazar*.
Or of Cethegus. *Or Mahomet Allybeg.*
Catiline, p. 82. *Mirza*, p. 5.
- Call at the great, the fair, and In the mean time get thee a party
spirited dames to thee
Of Rome about thee; . . . Of the male-spirited Dames, . . .
Catiline, p. 82. *Mirza*, p. 14.
- If't please you, madam, If't please your grace, the Lady
The Lady Sempronia is lighted at *Floradella*
the gate Is lighted at the gate, and means a
. visite.
And comes to see you. *Mirza*, p. 18.
Catiline, p. 92.
- O wretchedness of greatest states, O misery of greatest states!
To be obnoxious to these fates! Obnoxious to unconstant Fates!
Catiline, p. 88. *Mirza*, p. 23.
- Each petty hand In a dull calm, a child may play
Can steer a ship becalmed but . . . with th' helm,
. . . when her keel ploughs hell, But he's a Pilot can outride a
And deck knocks heaven; then to storm.
manage her, *Mirza*, p. 25.
Becomes the name and office of a
pilot.
Catiline, p. 99.
- Is there not something more than Is there not something more for me
to be Cæsar? to do,
Must we rest there? Than to gain *Persia's* Crownes, and
Sejanus, p. 314. *Asia's* too?
Must I end there? *Mirza*, p. 42.
- What is it, heavens, you prepare? What is it, Heavens, you suffer
Catiline, p. 113. here?
Mirza, p. 72.
- how much the gods How have we sinn'd! that you up-
Upbraid thy foul neglect of them, braid us thus
by making T' indebt us for our safeties to such
So vile a thing the author of thy low
safety. Vile things!

They help thee by such aids as
geese and harlots.

Catiline, p. 105.

Would you, Curius,
Revenge the contumely stuck upon
you?

now
Now is your time. Would Publius
Lentulus

Strike for the like disgrace? now is
his time.

Would stout Longinus walk the
streets of Rome,

Facing the Prætor? now has he a
time.

Is there a beauty here in Rome you
love?

only spare
Yourselves, and you have all the
earth beside.

Catiline, p. 87.

But *Rome* thrice ow'd her life to as
vile a trash,
Once to a common Harlot, twice to
Geese.

Mirza, p. 125.

Would you my Lord
Elchee, requite your selfe for th'
injury

Late done to you? now, now's the
time to do it.

Would you, *Mozendra*, arrive at th'
hopes

You, I know, have, of things worthy
your merit,

And daring soul? this, this is the
way.

Would you, *Benefian*, render your
self

Worthy
. . . to teach the bravest Lady
Ith' *Persian* Court to give and take
a flame,

. now's the time.

And is there any thing that you,
sweet Ladies,

Can on your Pillows wish for? now
command it.

. Is there ever
A Knight, or smooth chin'd youth
your eye commends

Unto your heart? he is your ready
servant.

This is the way t' atchieve all these,
and more.

Mirza, p. 131.

Besides these instances of plagiarism, we find also a borrowing of quite a different nature. In *Catiline*, each of the first four acts ends with a chorus. The first two choruses consist of iambic tetrameter lines, the third consists of iambic feet which are alternately tetrameter and pentameter, and the fourth of iambic feet which are alternately tetrameter and dimeter. Similarly in *Mirza*,

each of the first four acts ends with a chorus, and the metrical scheme is identical with that in *Catiline*. Moreover, the similarity of theme in the choruses that end the first act of each play is striking.⁶ There is, as usual, some borrowing of phraseology; compare, for example, the opening line of the third chorus in *Mirza* with the opening line of the corresponding chorus in *Catiline*.⁷

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JACQUES DE VITRY AND BOEVE DE HAUMTONE

The difficult problem of the origin and date of *Boeve de Haumtone* is still far from solution, though numerous monographs in the last ten years have served to emphasize its importance and its innumerable literary relationships. Matzke (*Pub. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, xvii) proved its basic adaptation of the Saint George legend; Böje (*Zts. f. rom. Phil.*, Beihefte, xix) showed its mosaic-like borrowings and adaptations of French romance themes; and others have been concerned with the comparison and classification of the different versions.¹ It is of interest, therefore, to note the absorption into the romance of a story drawn from neither of these sources, a Crusader's tale which may by rare chance have come to the earliest author of the story by oral tradition, but which in much greater probability reached him through the *Sermones Vulgares* of Jacques de Vitry. These sermons, with their often vividly interesting and contemporary exempla, have been ascribed by Crane (*Exempla*, p. xl) on the evidence of Jacques' unknown biographer to the years 1226-40, and by Meyer (*Contes moralisés de Nicole Bozon*, p. xii), though on no stated grounds, to 1217, the date of Jacques' election as Bishop of Acre. The tale in question (No. xc

⁶ This similarity of theme is indicated in the sixth example.

⁷ See the ninth example.

¹ Billings, *Guide to Middle English Romance*, p. 36 ff.; Wells, *Manual of Writings in Middle English*, 1916, p. 765 ff. In addition see Brockstedt, *Floerent Studien*, Kiel, 1907, *Von mittelhochdeut. Volksepen frz. Ursprungs*, Kiel, 1912 (Beves, pp. 60-159); Settegast, *Quellenstudien z. gallo-rom. Epik*, Leipzig, 1904, ch. xvi; Wolf, *Das gegenseitige Verhältnis d. gereimten Fassungen d. festländ. Boeve de Hamtone*, Göttingen, 1912; and note 3 here.

of the *Exempla*) shows that it must have been learned in the East, from which Jacques finally returned in 1228.

The exemplum tells of a Templar in that happy time "in principio ordinis, cum adhuc pauperes essent et valde in religionem ferventes," who was bearing alms from Tyre to Acre. Coming to a place "qui Saltus Templarii ex illo tempore nuncupatur" . . . "ubi ab una parte cacumen prerupte rupis habebat, ex alia parte mare profundissimum subjacebat," he was cut off by Saracens "ante et retro." Inspired by faith in God, the Templar put spurs to his horse and leaped "in abissum maris." God granted that the horse carried him to the shore, but "quando ad terram venit, crepuit medius, eo quod undis marinis in saliendo fuisset vehementer allisus, et ita Christi miles cum pecunia pedes reversus est ad Tyrenum civitatem."

This is clearly the same episode as that which appears in the Anglo-Norman version of *Boeve de Haumtone*. Beves is escaping from his long imprisonment in Damascus. He is pursued by the Saracens, one of whom he kills, mounts his adversary's horse, and gallops on.

Venu est a un ewe, dunt il est irré,
demy lue out le ewe de lee. . . . (ll. 1236-7.)

Quant Boefs aveyt dampnedeu priez,
poynt le bon destrer par amedeus les costés,
fert sey en le ewe trente pez mesurez;
e ly bon destrer se est fortment pené,
le ewe fu redde, contre val l'ad porté,
e ly bon destrer est contre mount noé. . . . (ll. 1255-60.)

e par dreyte force sunt utre passez.
Quant il en furent outre, mult fu Boefs lee. (ll. 1263-4.)

The episode appears of course in the derivatives of the Anglo-Norman version,² and among these the Middle-English version (1330) with its specific reference to "ðe cliue / Ðar ðe wilde se

² Stimming, *Der anglonormannische Boeve de Haumtone*, 1899, p. clxxvii. The Irish version, which seems a derivative of that in Middle English, curiously elaborates the scene. It tells of the swift tidal stream, of the roaring bay beyond the rock, of the apparent impossibility that it could be crossed by any living creature, and of the fact that Beves and his horse were in the water twenty-four hours. Cf. Robinson, "Celtic Versions of Bevis," *Zts. f. celt. Phil.*, vi, 131 (1907).

was" (l. 1790) is notably close to Jacques' story. It appears also in that which Stimming (*Der festländische Bueve de Hantone*, II, 127) describes as the second Continental French version.

Bueves chevauche, le frain abandonné,
Vint a une eue dont parfont sont li gué,
C'est Noire-monde, ensi l'oi nommer;
L'iuue descent d'un grant rochier cavé,
Plus d'une archie ot en travers de le,
Tant par fu rade, n'i ot barge ne nef. (ll. 3130-5.)

In the so-called first Continental version (Stimming, *ibid.*, I, 90) the horse's leap and swim are omitted, and Beuve eludes his pursuers simply by riding away from the river into a wood. In the Italian version³ the hero, fleeing on an exhausted horse, comes to the sea-shore, and is there saved from the pursuing Saracens by merchants who take him aboard their ship, a device for rescue which had already been used in an earlier part of the story. As the incident is so weakly treated and so lacks its salient features, the rock, the leap, and the prodigious swimming feat, it must be suspected that the Italian version here cannot be considered the oldest original form, although Matzke and Jordan have argued so weightily for giving to the version as a whole this distinction.

Another point of interest in connection with this incident is its popularity. As Böje (*op. cit.*, p. 96) has pointed out, the episode of the Vain Pursuit involving hero and horse and river, is found in *Fierabras* (Kroeber and Servois, 1870, p. 123), in *Ogier* (Barrois, p. 134, 191), in *Renaud de Montauban* and in the Middle English *Guy of Warwick* (EETS., 25, 26, p. 313). Böje comments in general on the probable inter-relation of the story in these romances, but he does not note a perceptible likeness of phrase between *Fierabras* and the Anglo-Norman *Boeve* which in itself offers a curious and as yet altogether unstudied problem in their exact relationship.

³ For special studies of the Italian version see Jordan, "Ueber Boeve de Hantone," *Zts. f. rom. Phil., Beihefte*, XIV (1908); Matzke, "The Oldest Form of the Beves Legend," *Mod. Phil.*, XX (1912-3); Paetz, "Ueber das gegenseitige Verhältnis der . . . Fassungen des Bueve de Hantone," *Zts. f. rom. Phil., Beihefte*, I (1913). The horse leap is discussed by Jordan, pp. 17, 59, and by Paetz, pp. 39, 42.

Bradmund fu alé devaunt sur un bon destrer
E Boefs tost ateynt a une tertre mounter. (Boeve, 1184-5.)

Or cevauce Richars, li frans dus, tous iriés
A I tertre monter li avint grans mesciés
Ses boins destriers li est à I fais estancier. (Fierabras, p. 123.)

"A, deus!" fet il, "beau rey de parays, . . .
e en la beneyte croiz mort pur nus suffris . . .
meuz eyne estre neyé e en ewe mausmys
ke jeo ne seye isci de ceo paens pris." (Boeve, p. 50-1.)

Glorieus sire pere, qui te laisas pener
En la crois benéote pour ton pule sauver; . . .
Et se je entre en l'augue, bien sai g'i noieré
Noier me converra, ce sera grant viuté. (Fierabras, pp. 131-2.)

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GERMAN LEXICOGRAPHY

PART II

13. LAKAI

The German dictionaries cite the earliest appearance of *Lakai* from a text of the year 1541, and that in the modern sense of 'footman,' 'servant,' and the like. The word can be traced back much earlier, however, and that, too, in the earlier sense of 'sorte de gens de guerre, arbalétier,' numerous instances of which are given by Godefroy, Du Cange, and Littré. Additional ones, from Jean d'Auton, will be noted below.

The earliest of the following German instances of *Lakai* are from Brennwald's *Schweizerchronik*,¹ the passages in question referring to events of the years 1494-1507. The scene of action is in each instance Northern Italy:

1. Under denen warend 8000 knecht von der Eignoschaft; das überig Francosen, lageien und allerhand welsches volkes, ouch etlich, doch nüt vil lanzknecht (p. 321: event of 1494).

2. also ordnot er alle sachen in dem herzogtüm [*Mailand*], besezt stet und schloss, versach die passen gar wil mit Franzosen

¹ *Heinrich Brennwalds Schweizerchronik*. Zweiter Band, Basel, 1910. [Quellen zur Schweizer Geschichte, N. F., I. Abt., Bd. II.]

und laggeien und liess alle Eignossen disen handel wüssen gar mit grossen fröden (p. 461: 1499).

3. Also ward das mer under den 12 orten, das si den zû gewanten uff das mal den vorzug und die er wöltind vergunen, das die (= sie) 600 Gastgunier (= acc.) söltind mit stechlin bogen und etlich geschüz zû inen nemen und den berg stigen . . . (p. 513). Also wurfend si Oswalden von Rotz und lang Felixen von Baden uf für oberst hobtlüt. Die zugend mit den laggeien und dem geschüz in dem namen Goz an den berg und . . . (p. 514: 1507).

The following instance from the *Basler Chroniken* (vi, 30) likewise refers to the Milanese War of 1507:

4. Und wurden yro zusammen mit denen, die der künig von Franckrich hat, lackeyen, Stradioten und Hispanier und anderem volck, ob den 70000, und gewunnen ein schlacht vor Gennow uff dem berg.

The following is from *Heinrich Hugs Villingen Chronik*,² p. 49:

5. Do machten die Frantzoßen zû ros ain huffen und die lantz-knecht och ain huffen und die lagegen och ain huffen (1513).

The last instances to be considered are from a *Flugblatt* of the year 1515, published in Weller's *Die ersten deutschen Zeitungen*:³

6. So sind der Baszgomer (= Gascons) vnd Laggaien ain grosse anzahl vber die masz gewesen vnder denen. zusampt allerlay wer. die sy gehabt hand. . . die jnn die schweitzer neben denn Landszknechten wol nach allem vortail getroffen haben (p. 29).

7. sonnst ist von allem volck Lantzknechten. Gaszgomern. Laggaien vnnd wer aüff der walstat geplündert hat. vil guter harnasch . . . gefunden (p. 30).

In the above instances the following juxtapositions will be noted: *Francosen, laggeien, welsches volk*; *Franzosen und laggeien*; *lackeyen, Stradioten*,⁴ *Hispanier*; *Frantzosen, lantzknecht* (i. e. *German*), *lagegen*; *Gasconier und Laggaien*; *Lantzknecht, Gasconier, Laggaien*. In the remaining instance (No. 3) no other nationalities are juxtaposed, but the same troops that in one sentence are called *Gastgunier mit stechlin bogen* are immediately after mentioned as *laggeien*. The word seems to indicate, in these texts, some nationality, with the secondary meaning of *crossbowman*. The equation

² Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins, 164. Bd.

³ Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins, 111. Bd.

⁴ Greek or Albanian light cavalry.

Gastgunier = *laggeien* suggests a neighboring district of Southern France, such as Languedoc, or of Northern Spain.

French texts of the period just preceding show a similar use of the word. Godefroy cites, *e. g.*:

certain nombre de gens arbalestriers apeles *laquaiz* (1470); Sept a huict vingt *lacquetz* arbalestriers aussi gascons (*Chron. scand. de Louis XI*); CX XVI · Picarts, · C · Bas Almans en Guerrande, · XL · *lacays* (1488).

In the contemporary French accounts of the Milanese Wars, however, the word seems to have assumed the meaning of 'foot-soldier.' The following instances are from Jean d'Auton's *Chroniques de Louis XII* (ed. Paris, 1891):

transmist *soixante laquoyz gascons*, soubz la conduyte d'ung nommé Bertrand de Bouchede, et ne leur voulut bailler nulle gent de cheval. . . . Les *soixante coureurs françoys* allerent tant, (II, 265 f.: 1502).

Ung *laquays* françoys, nommé Jehan Loignon, meurtrier et mauvais garçon entre tous les autres. . . . (II, 268).

transmyst Jacques d'Allegre, son filz, avecques VI cens *laquays* (IV, 116: 1507).

le lieutenant du Roy . . . appella ung nommé Cossains, capitaine de cinq cens *laquays*, lequel fist monter, avecques ses pietons, droict ou estoient les Gennevoys (IV, 206: 1507).

In the hard fighting that follows, mention is twice made of *ledit Cossains et ses pietons*, whereas on p. 207 they are again called *les laquays de Cossains*. On p. 238 there is reference to *grant nombre d'autres Allemans et laquays françoys*, and on p. 245 *troys mille cinq cens laquoyz* are sent with 3000 *Allemans*.

Whatever the ultimate origin of the word, the etymology of Diez and Körting, who would derive it from Germ. *lecken*, with the primitive meaning of 'licker' = 'parasite,' seems quite improbable: the development above indicated, of 1. nationality > 2. special kind of soldier > 3. attendant, body-servant, is exactly paralleled, furthermore, in the case of the German words *Heiduck* and *Schweizer*, whereas the opposite development of parasite > servant > soldier > nationality seems utterly impossible.

14. BANDIT

Kluge cites this word from Frisius (1541) and Maaler (1561), in the sense of 'exul,' 'Verbannter.' The following instance, with

the same meaning, is from Edlibach's *Chronik*,⁵ in connection with events occurring in Northern Italy in 1513:

den (= *denn*) uor den banditten vnd francosen die noch allenthalb jn schlossen lagend torfte niemen wandlen.

For the meaning of the word, compare the following passage from Jean D'Auton's *Chroniques de Louis XII*, referring to events of the year 1501 in Northern Italy:

Iz sont de six a sept mille bons combatans, avecques sept ou huy cens Lombars *bannys* de leur pays, lesquelz, soubz le malheur de necessité urgente, se couvriront des escus de vertueulx courage (II, 128).

15. ATTENTAT

Kluge notes the earliest occurrence of the word in *Zeitungen* of the Thirty Years' War. The following instance goes back to the preceding century, being found in the *Zimmerische Chronik* (1566):⁶

so hette er auch ohne sein, herr Gotfridt Wernhers, rath oder vorwissen diss attentat angefangen.

16. BANKETT

The earliest instance cited by Kluge is from Maaler (1561). The following examples are from *Wilwolt von Schaumburg*⁷ (ms. 1507):

Er bat sein wirt, im ein herlich und guet banket zu besteln. . . . Da nu all sachen des bankets geschickt und die gest komen soln, (p. 150). Darnach wurden gros köstlich banket und tenz gemacht, (p. 158). lies sie mit iren mennern nidersitzen, gab in ein erlich banket, das si darnach dem spill dest pas zusehen mochten (p. 165).

17. AMBASAT, AMBASIATOR

The first of these forms is quoted by Helbling⁸ from Fronsperger (1555). The earliest of the following instances are from documents dated 1450, and published in the *Fontes rerum austriacarum* (II. Abt., 42. Bd.):

⁵ Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich, IV, 249.

⁶ Hrsg. v. K. A. Barack, 2. Aufl., Tübingen, 1881, II, 441.

⁷ Bibliothek des Litterarischen Vereins, 50. Bd.

⁸ "Das militärische Fremdwort des 16. Jahrhunderts," *Zs. f. deu. Wortf.* XIV, 42.

vnsers gnedigen herrn des Ro. kungs ambaziaten (p. 74). seinen . . . gemelten ambasiatores . . . den gemelten ambasiatores (p. 154).

In *Wilwolt von Schaumburg* (MS. 1507) the word *amasat* occurs several times in the same sense of *ambassador*:

Nu musten die selben geschickten amasatten bischof Wilhalbm . . . von Arres hinziehen (p. 142). den vertrag des kunigs von Frankenreich und der amasatten (*ib.*) auch den amasatten, die mit königlicher wurde von Frankenreich gehandelt haben (p. 144).

In the following cases however, from the *Basler Chroniken* of the years 1476-77, the word is feminine, with the meaning *embassy*:

da hat er ein ambasiat zu dem kung geschickt . . . und hatt der ambasiat (*dat.*) empfohlen dry gaben an den kung zu begeren . . . hatt der kunig der ambasiat (*dat.*) geantwort (III, 147). hab der obgemelt hertzog von Meylant ein treffenlich ambasiat zu dem kung von Franckenrich geschickt (III, 441).

18. LEGATION

This word appears simultaneously with the preceding, and in the same texts:

herr Procopius yetz in der legacion mit andere . . . räten in vnser stat komen ist (*Fontes*, II. Abt., 42. Bd., p. 153: 1454). usz gewalt der legacyon von wegen der . . . hertzogin von Burgunn (*Basler Chron.* III, 516: 1477).

19. MUNITION

The earliest instance known to me is from the *Basler Chroniken*, in connection with the Peasants' War of 1525:

. . . ire schlosz besetzt, sich mit proband, municion, und was zu der artallary und kriegszubung not ist . . . versehen (VI, 513).

Weller's *Zeitungen* contain several instances of the year 1535:

Das sy den nächsten auf Palerma in Siciliam faren sollen vmb Profandt vnd Munition zuladen (p. 82).

On p. 84, under the caption MUNITION ODER KRIEGS RÜSTUNG, there are enumerated "Handbüchsen, Haggbüchsen, Corsaleti oder Bantzer, Liderin schleüch zum Wasser, Sättel zu pferden, Puluer, Kuglen, Salpeter, vnd anders zum geschosz taugentlich."

20. ARTILLERIE

This word, cited by Helbling from the year 1521, makes its first appearance in contemporary accounts of the siege of Neuss (1475):

ind naemen dem herzogen 10 schif mit sinre artelrien, mit 6 groissen heuftbuessen (*Chron. d. deu. Städte*, xiv, 840).

The following, later instances, are from the same volume:

mit vast schaden van doiden, van buessen ind andere attelrie die sie dair lassen moisten (p. 889: event of 1494). mit groissen heuftbussen ind ander artelrien (p. 896: year 1495). mit vast heuftbussen ind mit anderen artelrien (p. 902: year 1497).

In *Wilwolt von Schaumburg* (ms. 1507) the word appears as *erkerei*:

In dem wurden auch leut verordent, die sie des künigs erkerei und geschütz sehen lieszen (p. 96).. dar in er sich mit leuten geschos seiner erkerei und alles, das in einem velt zu stürmen und streiten gehört . . . rüstet (p. 183).

Another spelling, *artallary*, is cited above, under *Munition*.

21. MUSTER, MUSTERN

The dictionaries give a number of instances of the fifteenth-century neuter noun *Muster*, 'Musterung,' derived, like the English word *muster*, from the late Latin *monstra*, Italian *mostra*, which are feminine, however. Compare, for example, Ducange (v, 512) *s. v. Monstrum* 1:

ut Monstram videat de gente armigera (1314); . . . faciendi fieri Monstram de burgensibus (1331).

One should expect the German noun also to be feminine. The *Schweizerisches Idiotikon*, *s. v. Muster* (iv, 544), surmises that the word may also be feminine, but is unable to give any examples. The following instances are from G. F. Oechsenbein's *Urkunden der Belagerung und Schlacht von Murten* (Freiburg, 1876); all the documents concerned refer to Charles the Bold of Burgundy and are dated 1476:

dasz der Burgunsch Hertzog uff vergangenen Samstag zu Notzaret sin Muster gehebt (p. 29). vnd hatt gebetten mit grossem usruffen durch das gantz land das menglich hüt da si, ze tund ir

mustre (p. 38). der Burgunsch Hertzog . . . hat Jetz Zinstag vnd Mittwuchen sin Mustre gemacht (p. 195). Der Hertzog hat In sinem here ein nûw Muster getan vnd ist selbs bi der gewesen (p. 237). als er das zû mengem mall an siner Muster gesehen hab (p. 274).

Three of the above instances (pp. 29, 38, 195) could of course be either neuter or feminine, but *bi der* (p. 237) and *an siner* (p. 274) can only be feminine.

The verb *mustern*, in the military sense, is cited by Helbling from Frontinus (1532). This also is found in one of Ochsenbein's documents of the year 1476:

sagt also, der Hertzog hab sin volk gemustert vnd widergemustert vnd ligen vnd warten vsrichtung irs Solds (p. 207).

22. GESCHWADER

Kluge cites an instance of the year 1547, Helbling one of 1534. The following example is from Brennwald's *Schweizerchronik*, written soon after 1507, the event itself being of the year 1444:

Die wil sich nun die obgeschribnen sachen ferlofend, nahet der telphin mit sinem zûg der Eignossen lager und schikt ein geschwader, wol 100 pferd, an die Eignossen zû scharmützen (II, 133).

23. FETZEN (= Fahne)

The *DWb.* is able to quote but a single instance of *Fetzen* used in the sense of 'banner,' 'standard.' The following instances, antedating that of the *DWb.*, are from one of Weller's *Zeitungen* of the year 1515, in which the losses of the Swiss in the Milanese War are enumerated (p. 32):

Der fendrich von schweitz mit dem fetzen. Der fendrich vonn Vri mit dem fetzen.

W. KURRELMEYER.

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE O. E. ANDREAS

In my note on *Elene* 1272^{b-7}^a (*The Old English Elene, Phoenix, and Physiologus*, p. 100), I pointed out that these lines seem to be adapted or paraphrased from *Aeneid* I, 50 ff. In order clearly to exhibit this, I subjoin the two passages, enclosing in superior letters the corresponding words and phrases, as I conceive them. That from the *Elene* is:

Landes frætwe
gewitaþ under wolcnum ^awinde^a gelicost
þonne hē for hæleðum ^bhlūd^b āstigeð,
^cwæðeð be wolcnum, wēdende færeð,^c
ond eft semninga ^dswige gewyrðeð^d
in ^enēdeleofan^e ^fnearwe geheaðrod,
þrēam forþrycced.^f

The passage from the *Aeneid* (I, 51-62) follows:

Nimborum in patriam, loca feta ^cfurentibus^c ^aAustris,^a
Aeoliam venit. Hic vasto rex Aeolus ^eantro^e
^cLuctantis^c ^aventos^a tempestatesque ^bsonoras^b
Imperio ^fpremit,^f ac ^fvinclis et carcere frenat.^f
Illi indignantes ^bmagno cum murmure^b montis
Circum claustra ^cfremunt;^c celsa sedet Aeolus arce
Sceptra tenens, ^dmollitque animos et temperat iras;^d
Ni faciat, maria ac terras cælumque profundum
Quippe ferant rapidi secum verrantque per auras.
Sed pater omnipotens ^espeluncis^e abdidit atris,
Hoc metuens, ^fmolemque et montis insuper altos
Imposuit.^f

Similarly one might, I believe, establish a relation between certain passages of the *Andreas* and the account of the storm which these Æolian winds aroused. The longest of the passages is as follows (372-8 ff.):

^aWedercandel swearc,^a
^bwindas wēoxon,^b ^gwāgas grundon,
strēamas styredon,^g ^cstrengas gurron,^c
wæde [ms. wædo] gewætte; ^dwætereḡsa stōd
þrēata þrȳðum.^d Þegnas wurdon
ācolmode; ^eænig ne wēnde
þæt hē lifgende land begēte.^e

Another is (393-4):

^fGrund is onhrêred,
dēope gedrêfed;^f

with which may be compared (1528-9):

Sund grunde onfēng,
dēope gedrêfed.

And still another ¹ (495-6):

^gStrēamwelm hwileð,
bēateþ brimstæðo.^g

The *Aeneid* ² has (I. 82 ff.):

^bVenti, velut agmine facto,
Qua data porta, ruunt et terras turbine perflant.^b
Incubuere mari ^ttotumque a sedibus imis^t
Una Eurusque Notusque ruunt, creberque procellis
Africus, et ^gvastos volvunt ad litora fluctus;^g
Insequitur clamorque virum ^cstridorque rudentum.^c
^aEripiunt subito nubes cælumque diemque
Teucrorum ex oculis; ponto nox incubat atra.^a . . .
^ePræsentemque viris intentant omnia mortem.^e

And again (I. 105):

. . . ^dinsequitur cumulo præruptus aquæ mons.^d

The most doubtful of these equations are perhaps those represented by *d* and *f*; the most striking, that denoted by *c*.

If the view here presented meets with favor, it would seem natural to infer that the author of the *Elene*, who employs the earlier part of Virgil's account of the winds, and the author of the *Andreas*, who employs the later part, were one and the same man; from which it would follow that Cynewulf was the author of the *Andreas*.³

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¹ Cf. 308, *waroða geweorp* (see *ῥήγνιν*, *Od.* 4. 430, etc.), which I translate "the smiting of the shores," "plunging of the breakers"; cf. my *First Book in Old English*, p. 215, note 6.

² Bede, it may be observed, knew Virgil well, and quoted him frequently (*Opera Hist.*, ed. Plummer, I. liii; cf. I. lii, 108, 113, 150, 247, 267, 305), but does not, I believe, refer to these passages. Cynewulf seems to have used Bede in *EL* 1206^b ff.; cf. the note in my edition.

³ Krapp says (*Andreas*, p. liv): "The eagerness with which the poet seizes the opportunity of introducing the description in ll. 369 ff. is noteworthy." May this be because he had so good an original ready to his hand? In general, cf. my edition of *The Christ of Cynewulf*, pp. lxi-lxii.

REVIEWS

El Alcalde de Zalamea, por Calderón de la Barca, with introduction, notes and vocabulary, by JAMES GEDDES, JR., Ph. D. New York, D. C. Heath & Company, 1918. xxxviii + 198 pp.

While gratitude will not be withheld for this contribution to available text-book literature from Spain's greatest century, the work leaves much to be desired. It is not the inaccessibility of the German edition which furnishes the *raison d'être* for an edition of this kind, but the need of intelligently interpreted texts. The editor suffers from an altogether too high opinion of Krenkel and Hartzenbusch as final authorities: Krenkel's understanding of Calderón's textual difficulties was far from uncanny; as for Hartzenbusch, the student may disabuse his mind from the start of any notion that he furnishes any improvement.

The introduction has devoted too much attention to the question of historical authenticity—Calderón was nothing, if not uncritical, at the worst, *se non è vero, è ben trovato!* As for the intrinsic value of the imposing historical apparatus offered, Sebastián, who died in 1578, suffered defeat in 1580 (p. iv); the House of Austria ended under the Philips (p. ix); the play is laid in 1581 according to p. 122, but in 1580 according to p. 128.

As the indebtedness of the play to the *Novellino* through Lope is somewhat problematical, the value of paragraphs xvi-xvii is questionable. As to the choice, by Calderón, of Crespo for the mayor's name, the question cannot be settled without a study of the relation between Lope's play and the *Pedro de Urdemalas* of Cervantes, in which the election of a Crespo is hailed as a return of the Golden Age.

As a soldier, Calderón was not especially fortunate (Rivad., VIII, xxx); in the treatment of the author as a man of letters, we miss a comprehensive study of his work. Calderón's originality in the invention of Mendo has been overestimated, although the "frequency" of such characters in the fifteenth (sic) century needs scrutiny. The fountain-head for this conception of the *hidalgo* is *Lazarillo de Tormes*, which has been adduced in second place as if an afterthought (Introd., p. xviii).

The editor has been misinformed concerning the details of similarity between Mendo and Rosado : the latter loves not only Isabel, but every woman—even to *negras* and *triperas*; contrary to the attitude of Mendo, he wishes to marry her, and far from receiving “the same drastic treatment,” Isabel tells her mother, in answer to the latter’s reproaches: *Pois si, eu o fui chamar!*

Not every one would agree with the statement that Mendo is intended as a “contemptible caricature”; humorous, there is no doubt, but perhaps with something of the pathetic (not to say grandiose) in his faithfulness to his mistaken ideal, to that pride—*roto, sí, mas no remendado!*

For the curious—Rebolledo and his consort in military setting were on earth before in the persons of Estebanillo González and his *fregonil alcaida* (Rivad., xxxiii, 323 ff.).

The treatment of versification is valueless. The statement that the *romance* verse “ordinarily counts eight” syllables would justify almost anything. The information on p. xxxvi that II, 612-893, is a *romance* structure is confusing in view of the statement on p. xxxvii that II, 557-680, furnishes examples of the *quintilla*.

Lack of space forbids the enumeration of the typographical errors in the text, of which there are some thirty without counting the haphazard punctuation and accentuation.

The vocabulary will probably serve a purpose, although a close study will reveal how little of the play has been understood: *hubiera* (I, 642) and *habiendo* (II, 19) misunderstood as equivalents of the corresponding forms of *tener*, and “frequently used”! *bien hallado*, as ‘content with my coming’! *casa (el defeto ha de dejarme en)*, as ‘leave me by myself’! to say nothing of ‘fire from the hall-way’ for *echar por un corredor!*

There is no justification for the inclusion of variant readings from Krenkel or Hartzenbusch, nor for discarded orthographies, nor for Krenkel’s notes. Least of all should any credit be given Krenkel for the definition of *lugar*, which was copied bodily from the Academy.

The following will give some idea of the shortcomings:

asegundar, III, 241, not ‘repeat an action,’ but ‘hit (a person) again’; *aún*, unknown to the play; *aun bien que*, not as given, but ‘luckily,’ ‘anyway,’—a ready-made phrase of facile documentation; *barato*, II, 162, not ‘winnings,’ but ‘table-fee’; *blanco*, III, 222,

not 'white,' but 'sharp'; *cabildo*, not 'cathedral chapter'; *cargar con*, not *tomar*; *casa* (*el defeto*, etc.), as 'leave me by myself' is an uncatalogued vision from the cave of Montesinos; *corredor*, not as rendered, but 'balcony,' 'window,' for I, 788; *día* should be entirely rewritten; *estancia*, not as rendered for II, 190, but 'garden,' as in *Mágico prodigioso*, I, 2, and *Gustos y Disgustos son no más*, etc., I, 1; *familia*, II, 33, not 'family'; (*sin*) *fulminar el proceso*, not as rendered, but 'without formality of trial'; *haber* contains too many errors to be retained; *jacarandina*, not 'assembly of rufians,' III, 610, but *jácara*. To say that it is an alternative of *jacarandaina* is to put the cart before the horse, as is also the treatment of *taina* as a jingle to rhyme with *jacarandaina*, which latter was coined to match *titiritaina*. For the curious, the *jácara* was an invention of the devil Asmodeus, Guevara, *Diable cojuelo*, I; *jurador*, I, 55, 'profane,' adjective, not noun; *par*, masculine, has nothing in common with *a la par*; *preciso*, -a (*ocasión*), I, 704, not 'case like this,' but 'in my helpless situation'; *que*, as a 'preposition,' is open to question; *real*, rather 'dime,' 'bit,' 'sixpence'; *saber*, II, 186, is not active; *sino es hoy*, not as rendered, but 'except now that'; *taina*, not merely a 'jingle,' but the second part of the authentic *titiritaina*; *tratar*, III, 704, not 'try,' but 'go about (doing something),' not a synonym of *tratar de*; *vida* (*en mi*), may take *no* in either position as negative; *zozobrar*, I, 709, 'be of no avail,' also misunderstood by the corresponding note.

Attention may be called to certain needs which have not been filled. We miss *ante*, 'beginning,' for I, 284, in allusion to Hebreus, vii, 3; 'touch,' 'be bold enough to touch,' for *atreverse*, I, 865; 'house,' not 'houses,' for *casas*, III, 576; 'appreciate,' for *celebrar*, I, 600—a passage misunderstood by the corresponding note; 'count,' for the word-play on *contar*, III, 105; *cuando*, 'since,' for II, 843; *después*, 'in the second place,' 'also,' for I, 167; 'to woo,' 'make love to,' regular, though rarely listed, for *enamorar*, II, 7; *inorme* in alphabetical order for III, 23; *sí hará*, 'all right,' for II, 426—it stands for *sí irá* in answer to the mandatory *va* of v. 425; *incitar* as *procurar* for III, 250, if the text be correct; *lo* (*que*), 'as much as,' for I, 743; 'half-seas over,' for *entre dos luces*, without which the pleasantry of II, 456, will be unintelligible to the reader as it was to the editor; treatment of the expulsive *otro* of II, 67; 'and' 'but,' for the *que* (*no*) of I,

735; *quién*, 'if one only,' for I, 313 *et passim*; *reformat*, 'discharge,' 'dismiss,' for II, 33; *tratarse* 'be treated,' for III, 426.

The weakest part of the text, however, is the commentary. By far the great majority of the notes are uncalled for, erroneous, written for the Hartzbusch instead of the text used, or built on no other material than the passage to be elucidated, rather than on contributory information.

PERSONAS. *La Chispa*: Masculine common nouns thus used have the same treatment; the whole note is valueless; Calderón was but sixteen when Shakespeare died.

Any attempt to seek relationship between *Rebolledo* and *rebollecer*, *rehecho* y *doble* is absurd, and as for *bullá, mi padre!* (1) *Rebolledo* is a name which has been borne by many persons of note and dignity; (2) there is no necessary connection between dramatic persons and their names. The name was chosen as an appropriate name for a soldier, and had been used before by Lope and Cervantes. The former uses the good old name Saavedra for a *rufián*.

I, 20. *Pues es cierto*: *Pues* is illative, not ordinal; render: 'For the mayors will be sure to come . . . and say.'

I, 25-29. *Responder . . . Decir*: Historical infinitives are past, not future. The infinitive which the editor has in mind takes *a* before it.

I, 32-33. *Y nosotros . . . A obedecer*: This infinitive is not historical, and is to be explained by ellipsis of *nos ponemos* or similar.

I, 64. *tras la persona*: Not picaresque, but dignified or, as here, bombastic; cf. *D. Q.*, II, 3; *mire . . . cómo escribe de las presonas* (sic); I, 20: *ten cuenta con tu persona y con lo que debes a la mía*.

I, 76. *regidor*: *alcalde* and *regidor* may both hold office at the same time; municipal government differed so in different regions that the note is valueless.

I, 80. *Mesa franca*: The note is wholly erroneous; a *regidor* held no exalted position (cf. *D. Q.*, II, 25; Lope, *San Diego de Alcalá*), the point being that with a mere *regidor* she was better off. *Mesa franca* does not mean 'free lunch' for sycophants, but 'board included' for servants and dependents. *Menos regla* would not mean 'irregularly,' but 'more irregularly'—than what? Render: 'If I had wanted an easy life I would not have left the *regidor*,

with whom everything is in abundance—a thousand gifts, and all that—for there are *regidores* who pay with less stint (than here). For *regla* as stint, see the Academy; for the way pay was doled out in the army see Lope, *Las dos Bandoleras*, *Milagro del Desprecio*; *D. Q.*, I, 38, etc.

I, 105. *Alférez*, neither ensign nor recruiting office, but lieutenant.

I, 106. *embárquese*: The period of the play is 1580, not 1581, and military operations of this latter date have no pertinency. The allusion, as *mate Moros* shows, is to expeditions to Africa.

I, 159. *máteme una gallina*: The chicken's death is the only catastrophe foreshadowed. *Gallina* was not esteemed by soldiers more than by any one else, cf. *D. Q.*, II, 59; the statement that "mutton was too commonplace" is pure fiction—*De las carnes, el carnero*, . . . *De las mujeres Beatriz*; freshly killed chicken was far from being the delicacy indicated by the note, cf. *No siempre lo peor es cierto*, II, 13.

I, 187. *más bien gastado rato*: The construction is not loose, although the annotation is; render: 'Is there any better fun than a peasant girl and to see, . . .' the *de* being indicative of genitive of source and governing both *una villana* and *ver*.

I, 214. *floco* (sic!) *rocinante*: The passage cited contains no description of this worthy beast, *prenda tan mala para empeñada como para vendida*, *D. Q.*, I, 23. Calderón had a fondness for the steed, and rides him as an adjective in *Niña de Gómez Arias*, II, 1, *en rocinantes palabras*.

I, 217. *Parece*, etc.: The passage is a pure anachronism, and the note is wholly impertinent; see *Mágico prod.*, II, 1, for a mention of *D. Q.*, I, 33, in the early years of the Christian era.

I, 236. *Cálzome palillo y guantes*: The editor has erred with Krenkel in thinking that *calzar palillo* means, 'to put a toothpick in one's hat,' or even on one's ear, as in *Guzman de Alfarache*, II, ii, 1; and the *Century Dictionary* has nothing to do with the case. We are dealing with the traditional *hidalgo* (*de comedias*, as Toribio, *Guárdate del Agua mansa*, I, 15, puts it), whose toothpick subterfuge goes back to the straw of the *hidalgo* of *Lazarillo de Tormes*, III, through the *mondadientes en ristre* of Quevedo's *Figura de Guedejas se motila* and the *palillos . . . falsos* of *Roman-cero General*, II, no. 1773. *Calzar*, which is proper enough with

guantes, is used here by jocose zeugma with *palillo*, to which it does not apply; the expression hardly means any more than 'I'll get my gloves and toothpick!'

I, 300. *la hambre*: *La hambre* is not confined to Calderón; *este ayuda*, I, 654, is typographical; *justicia* as masculine for III, 405, arises from ignorance that an appositive does not agree in gender; *figura*, *gallina*, as masculines are of an entirely different order; so also, *fantasma*, *color*, *tema*, as feminines; more unfortunate still is *justicia* as masculine (vocab., *lo*) for III, 394, in ignorance of the pron. pred. nom. *lo* for all genders and numbers. As an example which by no stretch of the imagination can be made "masculine by all it represents," the following will suffice: *Mujer que ha de serlo mía* (*Agradecer y no amar*, II, 1). Lest it be inferred that the *la* article with *hambre* be due to the aspiration of the *h* cf. *Saber del Mal y del Bien*, II, 14: *Pero la hambre, no me espanto*.

I, 305-306. *greda*: A burlesque characterization of hunger, not an allusion to the miraculous power of spittle free from food; a jocose commonplace, of which a hundred examples could be adduced.

I, 312. *hidalgo*: *hidalgo* and *caballero* have nothing in common, and the former had not eaten since the day of Lazarillo, but for more material reasons than those adduced by the note.

I, 337. *Huelgas en Burgos*: There is no evidence for the pun mentioned; *enfade* does not mean 'get angry' here; the defeat of Miramolin has no bearing on the difficulty.

I, 344. *no he de sentarme*: The note misses the point: 'I'll do as you ask, but the second part of the proverb will not come true in your house.'

I, 345-346. *Es propio*: Not understood by the editor, as the punctuation and the vocabulary (*refrán*) show. *Refranes* is the subject of *es*; render: 'Proverbs are a characteristic, etc.' (*encamizados era*, *D. Q.*, I, 19). No pun is to be assumed.

I, 349. *por el bello oriente*: neither obviously ridiculous nor satirical as an hour's reading of Calderón or Lope would show.

I, 394. *Caballero andante*, etc.: *aventurero* means neither 'champion' nor 'social climber'; nor *mantenedor*, 'challenger.' The *aventurero* was the visiting knight; the *mantenedor*, the resident where the jousts were held. The note has missed the point.

Isabel is sure Mendo must always be an *aventurero*, since he is too poor to be a *mantenedor* (i. e., a supporter of anybody). The same play may be found in Calderón, *Casa con dos Puertas mala es de Guardar*, I.

I, 412. *Calzado de frente y guantes*: (1) Calderón, although abounding in the mannerisms of the *estilo culto*, is comparatively lucid; the inability of Krenkel or Maccoll to cope with a passage is no guarantee that it contains an insoluble difficulty. (2) Krenkel's 'leather hat' may be put with the 'real mask' of the editor. (3) There is no difficulty whatever in the passage, which means, not that Mendo was a 'lowbrow,' but that he needed his hair cut—one more trait of his poverty. See Quevedo, *Un Figura de Guedejas se motila*, where the curious will find Mendo in his previous incarnation—toothpick rampant, *saliva sacamanchas* of I, 305-306, *perdriz* (for the *faisán* of I, 239), *pelambre de guedejas* . . . for *calzado de frente*, *aventurero* of I, 395, *un figura* of II, 528, and all.

I, 423. *De dónde*: This note was written for the Hartzenbusch version. The text reads *de adónde*.

I, 442. *O algún viento me las tale*: The fact that 'lo, the grain seems more natural' is sufficient reason for keeping the text, which means: 'May God grant that I get my grain under cover before some squall blows it away, or before some wind lays low the unthreshed piles (*parvas*).'

I, 445. *A la pelota he jugado*: The editor should not have relied on Krenkel, whose statement, that *pelota* was frowned upon by the nobility, is entirely gratuitous; contemporaneous literature fairly teems with evidence to the contrary.

I, 456. *lo que está delante*: The note may be disregarded; the expression means 'your limit,' 'play for cash'; see Covarrubias, *s. v. resto*; Quevedo, *La Hora de todos*, xxvii.

I, 479. *Y id*: Not confined to Calderón nor verse, although it is difficult to know whether the *y* was a conventional graph for both forms; it should not be forgotten that, conversely, the *y*-sign is used for *e*, *he*, *habeo* in the *Poema del Cid*, 225.

I, 597. *Aunque no sea*: The note is entirely wrong; render: 'Although the girl is likely to be stupid, the difficulty in attaining her will add zest to the chase, make her more appreciated,' or similar.

I, 624. *boliche*: In the absence of corroborative evidence, the

note may be disregarded. References to *boliche* are extremely rare; it is very doubtful whether such official existed and, if so, whether his duties were confined to a regiment or limited to a company; the only thing in the note which may be taken at its face value is that the keeper of a *boliche* table was called a *bolichero*.

I, 657. *Ya empieza*; etc.: *tronera* has no reference to 'port-hole,' but bears the meanings: (1) 'hole in a gaming table,' (2) 'noisy rattle.' Render: 'His *boliche* hole (also "noise," "jabber") is already in action.'

I, 673. *Acudid todos*: Krenkel's justification for a text emendation by his knowledge of Juan's psychology needs no comment.

I, 684. *Pues es templo del amor*: Both readings would make satisfactory meter, and the editor has drawn on his imagination for Morel-Fatio's treatment of hiatus. Worse still, III, 549; I, 776; and III, 775, are correct, and the statement that *donde* is needed in this latter case must have had its conception in the Cave of Montesinos.

I, 705. *Hacer . . . homicidio*: Tragic prophecy does not enter, and the interpretation has been left in the dark. Render: 'It is not right of you to commit murder (by making me die of love), a crime which you ask me not to commit (on this soldier with my sword).' No one should be misled by the annotation on II, 537, into taking *homicidio* as the masculine of *homicida*.

I, 707-710. *Caballero . . . cortés*: Render: 'Sir, since you so greatly favor us (by your flattering compliment), let not my intercession (in behalf of the soldier) so quickly prove of no avail (by your pardoning him merely for my beauty); I beg you to let the soldier go, but not to exact payment from me (by expecting me to listen to your attentions), etc.' *La intercesión* as 'your guarantee for his safety,' *en obligaciones nuestras vidas* as 'life obligation' need no comment.

I, 726. *Muy noble sin duda sois*: As the note lacks substantiation, the following will be pertinent: *en los nobles no duró Nunca el enojo* (*Mágico prod.*, III).

I, 735. *Aparte*: Krenkel's suggestion should be disregarded; the son was equally responsible with the father for the household honor. Calderón makes a quip at his own expense on the opportune arrival of father or brother in cases of this kind in *Desdicha de la Voz*, II, 16.

I, 762. *Como quisiere, y vos*: The text is better as it stands, as a half-hour's reading would show; e. g., *Dicha y Desdicha del Nombre*, II, 16: *Sí . . . Sí*; *Señora y Criada*, III, 12: *ella . . . ella*.

I, 776. *Ojo avizor*: The meaning is undebatable; if *avizor* modified *Chispa* it would read *avizora*; the suggestion that the comma be used for the meter is unacceptable; the verse is correct, as an elementary knowledge of versification would have shown.

I, 788. *por un corredor*: The subjunctive after an asseverative oath needs to supply nothing; *matara* of II, 36-37, is an independent for conditional; worse still, the editor had no idea of the meaning of the passage (as the vocab. *corredor* shows): 'I'll throw you all out of the window.'

I, 789. *¿No me basta*: Granting the authenticity of the gout of the four famous generals, one would be grateful for comment on the verse length of 792, and as to whether *sino* is really synonymous with *sin*; see also note to III, 484-485, which makes *sino* equivalent to *sin que*.

I, 816. *Tra-que*: The correct rendering is: 'Give me—what?' This substitution of *qué* for the last part of a word is somewhat of a hobby with Calderón. There is, however, no pun here, but merely an interrogation of incredulous surprise.

I, 834. *echa un bando*: 'Sound off,' while possessed of excellent technical flavor and sonority, is no rendering for the expression, as may be seen from any dictionary.

I, 841. *Y vos*: not the captain, but Crespo.

I, 894. *No haremos migas*: It is not so clear that this figure owes its origin to the culinary habits "of the lower classes." According to Cejador, *La Lengua de Cervantes*, II, s. v. *miga*, the expression comes from shepherd life. It is even possible that the present meaning comes through 'mix,' 'get on together,' rather than 'break the bread of peace.'

(To be continued)

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Kampf und Krieg im deutschen Drama von Gottsched bis Kleist.
Zur Form- und Sachgeschichte der dramatischen Dichtung von
Dr. MAX SCHERRER. Rascher & Cie, Verlag, Zürich 1919.
428 pp.

Der Gegenstand der vorliegenden Arbeit ist zeitgemäss und ohne Anflug von Propaganda. Leider ist das Buch mit beinahe eintausend Anmerkungen unter dem Text keine einladende Lektüre. Selbst der fachliche Besprecher wünschte sich eine Behandlung des Gegenstandes im halben Umfang des Textes. Weniger wäre auch hier mehr gewesen. Der anscheinend deutschschweizerische Verfasser nennt Muncker, Erich Schmidt und Wölflin als seine Lehrer, was die bei seinem Erstling auffallende geschichtliche Grosszügigkeit in der Stoffbehandlung erklären hilft, aber auch die eine oder andere Einseitigkeit in der Auffassung und den oft präziösen Ausdruck. Im ganzen gibt er ein ungemein reichhaltiges und gewichtiges Buch, dem auf knappem Raum nicht leicht gerecht zu werden ist, weil es ausser seinen eigentlichen Ergebnissen viele fruchtbare Anregungen und zahllose interessante Kleinigkeiten enthält. Sicher wären die Hauptsachen noch stärker herausgekommen, wenn das Nebensächliche an Belegen, Parallelen und Literaturnotizen nicht zuviel des Raumes einnähme.

Die Untersuchung unternimmt es, "aus der wechselnden Verfassung der dramatischen Heere und der dramatischen Kriegführung Einblicke in den Wandel der dramatischen Form zu gewinnen." Es "sollte an den Sonderaufgaben, die der Kampf, in seinen Abstufungen vom Einzelgefecht bis zur offenen Feldschlacht, dem Drama stellt, ein Jahrhundert seiner formal-technischen Entwicklung aufgezeigt werden." Und zwar sollen "die Darlegungen über die dramatische Kampfform mit der Untersuchung des kriegerischen Gehalts Hand in Hand gehen." Zur dramatischen Form kommen "die kriegerischen Sachprobleme, die Fragen der Kampfauffassung, des dichterischen Erlebens des Krieges bis herunter zu der Stellung der Dramatiker zum historischen und zeitgenössischen Heerwesen und seiner Spiegelung in der Dichtung."

Die Einleitung behandelt hauptsächlich Wilhelm Schlegels Ausführungen über den Krieg als Vorwurf der Tragödie. Schlegels feinsinnigen Erörterungen hätten sich hier am besten gleich die seiner Nachfolger angefügt. Scherrer erwähnt allerlei, z. B. Mendelssohn (S. 23), Gerstenberg (S. 57 ff.), Tiecks Ansicht vom

Götz (S. 80), aber es hat keinen inneren Zusammenhang. Wo Lessings 17. Literaturbrief behandelt wurde (Scherrer, S. 46 f.), durfte Herders wichtige Erwiderung darauf, *Werke*, Suphan, Bd. II, S. 230 f., nicht fehlen. Klarstellung der theoretischen Forderungen hätte die dramatische Behandlung des Kriegs, die Stellung der Schlacht innerhalb des Dramas, der Episode innerhalb der Schlacht, die Verknüpfung von Krieg und Charakter usw. ideen- und formgeschichtlich klargemacht.

Die eigentliche Untersuchung hat vier Abschnitte: I. Von der französischen Form zum nationalen Schlachtfestspiel, II. Shakespeare und das Kampfstück des Sturms und Drängs, III. Die Verfestigung der Form, Stildrama, Kampftheatralik und Theatral-satire, IV. Das deutsche Kriegsdrama in seiner Blüte. Der I. Abschnitt umfasst die Entwicklung von Gottsched bis zu Klopstocks *Hermanns Schlacht*, II. hauptsächlich *Götz von Berlichingen*, den jungen Klinger und den jungen Schiller, III. behandelt Klingers Reife, Goethe in den achtziger Jahren, die theatralische Ausmünzung der Kampfmotive, das spätere Ritterstück, Kotzebue und den Theatergötz, dazu Tiecks Satire, IV. die Klassik Schillers, Kleists Kriegsdramatik, *Faust II. Teil*. Im Anhang werden noch 1. Die Waffe, 2. Die Wunde, 3. Das Pferd betrachtet. Wie der Verfasser etwas geheimnisvoll sagt: "Neue Gesinnung erweist sich sprechend am Kleinwerk." Das Buch schliesst mit einem brauchbaren Register von Personen und Sachen.

Im allgemeinen will uns die Untersuchung vom französischen Vorbild fort und hin zum englischen führen, von Corneille und Racine zu Shakespeare. Die klassische französische Tragödie gibt das Kampfgeschehnis hauptsächlich als Vergangenheitsbericht, Shakespeare als "Lokal" und als Aktion. Goethes *Götz* bezeichnet hier die Wegscheide. Schon Gottsched will mehr geben als die Franzosen, aber erst Elias Schlegel wählt die Schlacht selbst zum Vorwurf, und zwar in einem vaterländischen Schlachtstoff; er bleibt dabei allerdings in Gottscheds Technik. Die seelischen Wirkungen des Siebenjährigen Krieges sind nicht gering anzuschlagen, wie Klopstock in diesem Zusammenhang bezeugt. Scherrer, S. 49, nennt die unmittelbare Wirkung des Krieges gering, S. 74 (auch 393) wandelt nach ihm derselbe Krieg die scharfe Trennung von Leier und Schwert. Das ist ein Widerspruch, der sich aus dem allgemeinen Fehler erklärt, geistige und literarische Wirkungen nur dann anzunehmen, wenn eine grosse Persönlichkeit, ein grosser

Dichter zu sehen und mit Händen zu greifen ist. Hier täte eine neue Seelenkunde not, eine wahre Demokratisierung des Geisteslebens, die unhaltbare Auffassungen vom Genie und Helden, überhaupt vom Einzelnen in seinem Verhältnis zum Geistesleben und zum Volksgeist erledigte und gleicherweise berühmte Redensarten wie die vom "Fluch der Uebergangszeiten" und "Mangel an Selbstzucht," wovon Scherrer S. 23; 259 hinsichtlich Elias Schlegels und Tiecks redet. Dramatische Gestaltungsgabe hat man oder man hat sie nicht; man kann sie sich hemmen, vielleicht sogar wie jede Gabe zugrunde richten, aber man kann sie sich nicht willkürlich geben, und damit endet die persönliche Verantwortlichkeit vorm hohen Stuhl der Kritik. Würde andererseits die Kritik mit mehr geistiger Zucht und mit wahrer Ehrfurcht vor allem Geistigen betrieben, so würde sich literarische Nachfrage und literarisches Angebot viel besser ordnen.

Klopstock fühlte sich seiner Zeit innerlich stark gepackt vom Krieg, und nach seiner Gabe zum poetischen, d. h. zum lyrischen Ausdruck gezwungen (Scherrer, S. 56). Seine *Hermanns Schlacht* stellt einen "überraschend neuartigen und fördernden Versuch zur Lösung des Schlachtproblems" dar, indem sie zwei neue technische Mittel einführt: die Beobachtung der Schlacht von der Bühne her und "das Lokal," eine Raumvorstellung, die nichts mehr mit dem althergebrachten Geviert der Schaubühne zu tun hat. Klopstock wird im Laufe der Entwicklung noch mehrmals erwähnt: bei Schillers und Kleists reifer Kriegsdramatik (S. 323; 366.) In der *Jungfrau von Orleans* wird geleistet, was Klopstock anstrebte, nämlich "die blutige, schöne Todesschlacht in geschlossener Form zu triumphaler Geltung gebracht; allerdings als Schlusstein eines reichen Dramas, nicht—dies war der unheilbare Irrtum des Bardiets—als sein alleiniger Inhalt." Und Kleist in seiner *Hermannschlacht* vollendet die Stimmungstendenzen des Lyrikers Klopstock.

Die nächsten Schritte nach Klopstock heissen *Götz* und *Die Räuber*. Jener gewinnt dem Kampfdrama die Welt des Kriegerischen, und darin ausschlaggebend, den kriegerischen Geist; diese vollenden *Götz*, indem sie Goethes kühne Einseitigkeit überwinden und der Dichtung und dem Theater zugleich ihr Recht geben. Denn ohne Frage hatte Goethe im *Götz* eine Trennung von Literatur und Bühne verursacht. Wo hernach das ritterliche Kampfstück der Jakob Maier, Babo, u. a. weiterschreitet, gewinnt nur

das Theater und nicht die Dichtung; hingegen die dichterisch bedeutsamen Dramatiker, die auch im Kriegerischen Eigenes zu geben hatten, wie Klinger und Maler Müller, finden den Weg nicht zum Theater. Schiller nun auf dem Wege von den *Räubern* zu *Wallenstein* erfasst das Kriegerische sowohl poetisch als auch bühnentechnisch immer mächtiger. Rollten *Die Räuber* nebenbei auch noch "die grosse soldatische Frage der Zeit" auf, so gab Schiller im *Wallenstein* nicht nur "der deutschen Literatur das beste Kriegsdrama, das sich im universalen Erfassen der kriegerischen Welt neben Shakespeare stellen kann," sondern auch eins der grossen heroischen Feldherrndramen der Weltliteratur. Das Formproblem beherrscht im *Wallenstein* alle stofflichen Interessen, deshalb nimmt es nicht Wunder, wenn darin vom Dreissigjährigen Krieg verhältnismässig wenig zu sehen ist, keine Soldateska und keine kriegerische Kraftentfaltung. Nur in *Wallensteins Lager* erscheint der Fürst des Krieges, wie das schon Kühnemann im *Wallenstein-Kapitel* seines Schillerbuches ausgeführt hat. Immerhin ist in der Trilogie eine reiche kriegerische Welt von soldatischen Charakteren und Problemen, nur im Unterschied zu den Jugendstücken Schillers "in der Weite der Geschichte behandelt." Neben *Wallenstein* als "dem Kanon der Heeresdarstellung" steht die *Jungfrau von Orleans* als "das beherrschende Schlachtstück der ganzen Epoche." Neu ist hieran die symbolische Ausgestaltung der Schlachtbeobachtung, der Teichoskopie, womit eine Entwicklung seit Klopstock abgeschlossen ist. Mit Scherrer S. 313: "Die gesamte Entwicklung der dramatischen Schlachttechnik ist nichts anderes, als ein Ringen der beschränkten, allseitig eingegengten Darstellungsmittel der Bühne mit dem unbegrenzten Vorwurf, tiefer gefasst ein Bemühen, den auseinanderstrebenden, uferlosen Schlachtstoff in einen dramatischen Brennpunkt zu sammeln, ihn künstlerisch zu organisieren." Naturwahre Schlachten haben mit der Kunst nichts zu tun, wie Schikaneder und Grabbe zeigen. Die *Jungfrau* bietet so eine Synthese der strengen und der freien Schlachtform. "Sie vermeidet das shakespearisierende Getümmel auf der einen, die klassizistische Verflüchtigung der Vorgänge auf der andern Seite."

Goethes hier zu betrachtende Entwicklung geht vom *Götz* über *Egmont* zum *Faust*. Nach *Götz*, dem "mächtigsten Antrieb" für das Kampfdrama, kommt *Egmont* zwar nicht kampftechnisch inbetracht, wohl aber durch seine geistige Bedeutung. "Er begründet

das Kriegerische tief als das Urbedürfnis der Mannesnatur, die ihr Leben erst genießt, wenn sie es einsetzt (S. 183). Ich möchte eher dafür "das Heldische" setzen, Egmont ist m. E. ebenso viel oder wenig "kriegerisch" wie Valentin. "Leb ich nur, um aufs Leben zu denken?" Der Satz verträgt sich mit einem Wertherdasein ebenso gut wie mit einem Faustschicksal; so leuchtet es mir nicht ein, wie Egmont "das soldatische Ideal des Sturmes und Dranges" darstellen soll. *Egmont* liegt noch auf der Grenze, mit *Iphigenie* vollzieht sich Goethes Abkehr von der Kampfgestaltung der Geniezeit und die Hinwendung zur Kampfform der französischen Klassik. Im zweiten Teil des *Faust* wird der Krieg und der Krieger allegorisiert, während der *Götz* samt Sturm und Drang sie individualisierte und Schiller im *Wallenstein* sie typisierte. Ja, der kriegjauchzende Stürmer und Dränger Goethe endet als Pazifist, darin Lessing ähnlich. Wie Scherrer S. 384 schreibt: "Er spricht zu Eckermann berühmte Worte gegen den Nationalhass. Der Gedanke des Weltfriedens ist aus der Klassik, aus dem Weltreich der Humanität nicht wegzudenken. Man braucht auf Kant nur hinzuweisen. Goethes Werk umspannt auch darin die ganze weitverästete Entwicklung und schöpft sie voll aus, dass es von frühem kriegerischem Drang in die leidenschaftslose Höhe befriedeter Kulturgeltung aufsteigt." "But the world has not developed as Goethe believed it would develop," so konnte der Engländer J. G. Robertson in seinem wertvollen Büchlein *Goethe and the Twentieth Century* schon 1912 darlegen. Mit dem Gedanken der Weltkultur und Weltliteratur ist es Goethe ebenso wie Kant mit dem Weltfrieden ergangen. Goethe nun gar zum Zeugen für das kriegführende Frankreich von heute anzurufen, wie das F. Baldensperger in einem Aufsatz *Goethe et la guerre actuelle* tut,¹ ist unmöglich, weil es weder mit Goethes klarem Selbstzeugnis, z. B. zu Eckermann am 14. März 1830, noch mit den Ergebnissen der wissenschaftlichen Forschung übereinstimmt.

Die Klassik ist von der Romantik überholt worden, im Gedanklichen wie im Poetischen, und natürlich zeigt sich das auch im Problem des Krieges. Das 19. Jahrhundert hat sich im Sinne der nationalen Romantik entwickelt, fort von Goethe und selbst von Schiller, wie das nunmehr Kleist verrät. Es führen einige starke Linien von Schiller zu Kleist, aber beider Kriegsauffassung und

¹ *Edda*, VII. 1917, S. 173-187.

entsprechende Kriegsschilderung zeigt den entscheidenden Gegensatz (Scherrer, S. 349 ff.). Schillers moralisches Denken fordert eine Begründung des Krieges, Kleist ist er elementar, in der menschlichen Anlage begründet, der grausame Vernichtungswille, zwecklos und schrankenlos. Schiller ist human und optimistisch, Kleist pessimistisch und dämonisch. Das lässt sich in beider Werk vergleichend verfolgen. Für Scherrers Untersuchung sind nur noch Kleists *Hermannsschlacht* und *Der Prinz von Homburg* besonders zu erwähnen. Neu an jener ist, "dass nirgends so entschlossen wie hier das Schlachtstück selbst als kriegführende Macht eingesetzt wird. Keine stärkere Verankerung in der Zeitgeschichte lässt sich denken." Keine Siegesfeier eines Klopstock oder Aeschylus, sondern "Aufruf künftigen Krieges, ein Sturmzeichen des aufziehenden Gewitters: agitatorische Kriegsdichtung." Und im *Homburg* wird aus dem Soldatenstück des 18. Jahrhunderts ein Kriegsdrama grösseren Stils, indem sich die Enge des bürgerlichen Schauspiels, z. B. in *Minna von Barnhelm* zum historischen Drama weitet, vom neuen geistigen Gehalt gar nicht zu reden; denn damit reicht Kleist nicht zu Lessing zurück, sondern an Hebbel und Ibsen heran. Von seiner meisterhaften soldatischen Charakteristik zeugt die Gestalt des Kottwitz, und die soldatische Frage wird national romantisch und märkisch-norddeutsch gelöst, jedoch immer im Kreise des berufsmässigen Soldatentums altpreussischer Tradition.

Scherrer nennt nun (S. 394) Kleist im Unterschied zu Schiller und Goethe den Sohn einer neuen Generation in seiner Anschauung vom Kriege, ohne das zeitgeschichtlich klarzumachen. Mir scheint, dieser Mangel erklärt sich aus des Verfassers Behandlung der Romantik im allgemeinen. Schon Wilhelm Dilthey² kennzeichnete die auf Goethe folgende dichterische Generation, von der er die wieder unterschied, in welcher Kleist und Arnim hervortraten. Klarheit in diesem Punkt konnte Scherrer dazu führen, mit Kleist zusammen Achim von Arnim und Fouqué zu nennen, was wiederum Kleists Stellung zum Kriegsproblem deutlicher gemacht hätte; denn Kleist gehört innerlich in diesem Punkt sicherlich zu den märkischen Romantikern. Die Geschichte der Berliner christlich-deutschen Tischgesellschaft etwa aus Reinhold Steigs Buch *H. v. Kleists Berliner Kämpfe*, 1901, wäre von grossem Wert gewesen. Auch in meiner eigenen Arbeit über Arnims geistige Entwicklung,

² *Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung*, 2. Auflage, Leipzig 1907, S. 312 f.

Leipzig 1912, finden sich Beziehungen von Kleist und Arnim verzeichnet. Arnim verdient ausserdem eigene Beachtung seiner Auffassung und Darstellung des Kriegsproblems. Reintechnisch dürfte nichts Neues herauskommen, wenn sich auch z. B. in *Halle und Jerusalem* (1811) ein regelrechter englisch-französischer Krieg abspielt; aber seine Stellungnahme zur Not der Zeit und zum Krieg gegen Frankreich, zum Staat und zur Soldatenfrage verdient mehr Raum als z. B. das Ritterstück des 18. Jahrhunderts. Arnim schwärmt nicht für den Krieg, aber er nimmt einen gewissen volkerziehlichen Wert an—hierin von Kleist verschieden, und ebenso grundverschieden ist seine Haltung Napoleon gegenüber. Der romantische Patriot Arnim hat ebenso wenig wie Kleist das geringste mit der unnationalen Klassik eines Schiller und Goethe zu tun, aber Nationalhass predigte er trotzdem nicht. Wie es in *Halle und Jerusalem* (S. 299) heisst: "Leichtsinnig sucht sich der gemeine Mensch des Feindes Kraft mit Lügen zu verkleinern. . . ." Man muss an die Kriegsliteratur vor und in den Befreiungskriegen und die märkisch-preussische Heimatkunst der Kleist und Arnim u. a. anknüpfen, wenn man dem Kampf- und Kriegsproblem im Drama des 19. Jahrhunderts nachgeht. Man muss aber vorher auch die starken Zusammenhänge sehen, die zwischen dem Sturm und Drang und der Romantik bestehen, d. h. beide Bewegungen geistig schärfer erfassen. An Scherrers Arbeit lässt sich erläutern, was Oskar Walzel mit der analytischen und synthetischen Literaturforschung meint, warum er seit einem Jahrzehnt gegen die einseitige stoffgeschichtliche und auch bloss zeitgeschichtliche, biographische Forschung eintritt und die Synthese einer höheren literarischen Kritik fordert. Die synthetische Literaturforschung verfolgt nach ihm Gedanken, Lebensprobleme und Formen auf dem Wege von Individuum zu Individuum, Ketten von Beziehungen, "innerhalb derer das künstlerische Erlebnis, das tiefste Geheimnis dichterischen Schaffens, innerhalb derer die spontane Leistung der Phantasie zu keiner Beeinträchtigung kommen soll."³ Scherrer gibt keineswegs nur Stoffsammlungen, aber was darüber hinausgeht, entbehrt der klaren geistigen Durchdringung. Was hat Tieck in einem Kapitel mit Kotzebue und dem Theatergötze zu schaffen,

³ "Analytische und synthetische Literaturforschung," *Germanisch-Romanische Monatsschrift*, II. Jahrgang, Heft 6, Juni 1910, S. 333. Vgl. dazu Léon Polak, "Stoff, Gehalt und Form," *Neophilologus*, vol. IV, No. 1, S. 33 ff.

und Kleist zwischen *Jungfrau von Orleans* und *Faust II. Teil*? Tiecks ernste Kriegsdramatik, die Scherrer S. 245; 308 u. a. verständnisvoll betrachtet, steht unbegründet da, wenn man sein Verhältnis zum Sturm und Drang und innerhalb der Romantik zu den Schlegels und zu Kleist und Arnim nicht begreift. Vieles der Stoffanalyse erschiene bei Scherrer berechtigt, wenn es zum nötigen Verständnis des Erlebnisses und des geistigen Gehaltes leitete. Statt dessen muss man sich aus den verschiedenen Kapiteln einzelne an sich gute, aber innerlich zusammenhanglose Bemerkungen zusammensuchen. Es genügt z. B. nicht, dass nach Scherrer, S. 56, Klopstocks Schlachtpoesien "aus einem tiefen Verhältnis zu Kampf und Waffentat" erwachsen, oder dass in *Götz* "das Erlebnis der neuen Generation seine höchste Gestaltung gefunden" (S. 86). Das innere und äussere Wie ist hier von Bedeutung, die Frage, wo der Dichter in der Tradition steht, wo nicht, und wie weit er die Stimmung der Zeit mitschafft oder ausdrückt. Die Erklärung (S. 76 ff.), die Helden des Sturmes und Dranges dürsteten nach kriegerischen Taten, "trotzdem, oder besser, weil die Zeit friedlich ist" klingt nichtssagend. Hier liegt ein wichtiges Seelenproblem vor und ein literarisches Problem, dessen Lösung interessante Lichter auf Empfindsamkeit, Sturm und Drang und Romantik wirft. Die gelegentliche Sentimentalisierung des Soldatentums andererseits, z. B. bei Kotzebue, Schiller und Kleist wird von einer gewissen Seite des deutschen Charakters her zu erklären sein, ähnlich wie der historische Illusionismus, der so eigentümlich deutsche Werke schafft wie *Egmont*, *Jungfrau von Orleans* und *Prinz von Homburg*. Otto Ludwig hat eben diese Frage bei Schillers *Wallenstein* (Scherrer, S. 290 ff.) zur Kernfrage der Tragödie erhoben. Was Kuno Fischer in seinem Aufsatz über *Die Selbstkenntnisse Schillers* als die Lebensfrage des Dichters hinstellt, ob er seine ideale Weltanschauung mit der geschichtlichen wird versöhnen können, gilt für jeden Dichter historischer Gestalten und Zeiten. Auch hier täte noch Klarheit not; Wort und Begriff der sogenannten poetischen Lizenz bedürfen der geistigen Durchleuchtung. Nebenbei bemerkt, die Sentimentalität wäre eine dankbare Aufgabe für die vergleichende Literaturforschung, sie findet sich in allen Literaturen gleich und doch so verschieden. Und ähnlich national und zeitlich bedingt ist die kritische Haltung dem Problem des Kriegs und der Wehrmacht oder Problemen wie der Subordination (S. 233 u. a.) gegenüber; interessant ist hier das

Verhalten der "Soldatenkinder" Schiller und Kleist (S. 260 f.; 327), verschieden nach Temperament und politischem Verständnis, nach Weltanschauung und Erlebnis. Einen anderen Gegensatz bilden Lenz und Schiller (S. 138 ff.; 272), und wieder geht hier eine Linie vom Stürmer und Dränger zu Romantikern wie Tieck, Kleist und Arnim. Einige hierhergehörende Bemerkungen Scherrers über die verschiedenen Philosophien des Krieges bleiben leider in Anmerkungen vergraben.

Wertvolle Einzelergebnisse für die Theatergeschichte hätten bei Scherrer auch durch einige grundsätzliche Erörterungen verbunden werden können. Wieweit darf die Schaulust im Punkte Kriegsdrama befriedigt werden? Technische Ziele, Mittel und Grenzen; der Unterschied von theatergemäss oder bühnenrecht und theatralisch usw. Ein Wort über das Festspiel und den Einfluss der Oper auf die technische Entwicklung des Kriegsdramas wäre gleichfalls am Platz gewesen. Und eine Korrektur: S. 211, Anm. 47, erwähnt Scherrer das Programm eines "Instrumental-Tonstücks, eine Bataille vorstellend" zum Beweis, was auf musikalischem Gebiet in jener Zeit möglich war. Der Verfasser scheint die volkstümliche sogen. Schlachtmusik in deutschen Gartenkonzerten nicht zu kennen. Das melodramatische Element beim Schlachten-drama hat eine innere Begründung.

Und wie der Krieg als Vorwurf der Tragödie ganz natürlich zum Anfang der Untersuchung betrachtet wurde, so hätte sich als Schlusskapitel wie von selbst die Kritik am Theaterkrieg ergeben. Die Parodie von der *Prinzessin Pumphia*, Wien, 1756, bis zu W. Schlegels *Ehrenpforte* und Tieck, Brentano und Immermann gehörte hierher, und zwar zusammengefasst anstatt wieder übers ganze Buch zerstreut (S. 34 ff.; 47, 154, 223 ff. u. a.). Und als Einzelheit sei Kotzebues *Cleopatra* (1803) als erwähnenswerter Vorläufer von Bernard Shaws *Caesar and Cleopatra* vermerkt.

Bleibt die letzte Frage, nämlich nach der deutschen Form. Scherrers "Ergebnisse," S. 392 ff., wollen darauf bestimmt antworten. Es handle sich innerhalb der Entwicklung des Dramas um eine Auseinandersetzung des shakespearischen mit dem französischen Tragödienideal, und es sei zu zeigen, "wie sich aus weltliterarischen Polaritäten die deutsche Form langsam herabildet. . . . In der Antike noch nicht gegeben und zugleich der shakespearischen Ungebundenheit fremd, der neuen angestraften Form vorbehalten ist die spezifisch dramatische Organisierung des

Krieges." Das ist im Laufe der Untersuchung bereits weiter ausgeführt worden, immer im Vergleich mit dem nichtdeutschen Drama. Insbesondere Shakespeare wird als ausschlaggebend für "die kriegerischen Sachmotive" bezeichnet, während seine formale Wirkung nur streckenweise anerkannt wird. Im Tieck-Kapitel (S. 251) wird "die Tendenz zur Stimmung" oder die lyrische Absicht im Drama als "das entscheidende Shakespeare-Erlebnis des Romantikers" gekennzeichnet. Ob zu Recht, bleibe dahingestellt. Aber wenn S. 79 ff. und 250 ff. das Abrücken des jungen Goethe und Tiecks von Shakespeare besprochen wird, handelt es sich um mehr als die reine Frage der Bühnenmässigkeit, ich meine vielmehr tiefe wesentliche nationale Unterschiede in Charakter und Kunst, wovon man bisher in den landläufigen Forschungen noch nicht viel weiss. Das erklärt sich wohl aus dem Mangel an Auslandkenntnis und an der Einsicht, dass man ohne jahrelangen lebendigen Umgang mit dem Ausland nicht vergleichende Literaturgeschichte treiben kann. Auch die schöpferische literarische Kritik will erlebt sein. Um nun den deutschen Formwillen zu verstehen, braucht man m. E. nicht erst die verschiedenen Künste wechselseitig zu studieren, wenn das auch wie alles fruchtbar zu machen ist, wie Oskar Walzel in seinem neuesten Aufsatz über die künstlerische Form der deutschen Romantik zeigt.⁴ Schon mit dem reinliterarischen Stoff—z. B. in Scherrers Sammlung—, etwa der Entwicklungslinie Götzdichter, Maler Müller, Friedrich Schlegel, Tieck, Arnim kann man zur Erkenntnis der reindeutschen Form geführt werden, als der Form, die den Reichtum des Lebens ausdrücken will ohne vorbedachte und sogen. allgemeingültige Gestaltungsmöglichkeiten. Mit Recht sieht Walzel (a. a. o. S. 138) diesen deutschen Formwillen in einunddemselben Streben des Sturmes und Dranges und der Romantik; jener versucht es im Sinn der Eindruckskunst, diese auf idealistischer Grundlage. Von hier aus ergäbe sich das Problem des Undeutschen in Kleist, an der Auffassung und Darstellung des Krieges zu erläutern, undeutsch hier in dem Sinne gebraucht, in dem man z. B. Byron, Browning oder Shaw unenglisch nennt.

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⁴ *Neophilologus*, 1919, vol. iv, No. 2, S. 115 ff.

CORRESPONDENCE

ROSSETTI AND MAETERLINCK

In the formation of the art and philosophy of Maurice Maeterlinck one perceives various influences, which he has skilfully woven into mystical tapestries of quaint shades that bear his own mark. Marcus Aurelius, Shakespeare, Jan van Ruysbroeck, Novalis and the German mystics, Villiers de l'Isle-Adam, Carlyle, Emerson, Browning, Paul Heyse, and others have left traces in his work,¹ and yet it awakens in us an elusive mystical feeling of the great Unknown, which we do not find, in the same degree of subtlety, in the writings of any of his spiritual ancestors. Even in imitating, Maeterlinck introduces or increases that atmosphere of enigmatical vagueness wherein, dimly relieved upon the black background of his dreams, move the spirit-like, symbolic characters of his songs and of his plays. And the value of Maeterlinck's work lies more in the evocation of this atmosphere than in the invention of new situations. He holds the opinion that "the greatest writers of all countries have written for the world, and that their works belong to their readers as the Bible does."² Without destroying the fundamental unity of his work, "il prend son bien où il le trouve." In this way he imitated and—in my opinion—improved a poem of Dante Gabriel Rossetti which has not yet been pointed out as having influenced Maeterlinck: *An Old Song Ended*.³ It was the source of one of Maeterlinck's best-known poems: *Et s'il revenait un jour*.⁴

The subject of Rossetti's poem is of a nature that would appeal to the mystical leanings of Maeterlinck: A maiden is lying on her death-bed, waiting in vain for her lover, who has departed to some unknown country, from where, perhaps, he will never return. A companion asks her what she is to do and say if the long-expected traveler should come back after her death. The answers suggest the survival of her love beyond the grave. Rossetti starts with a citation from an old song:

How should I your true love know
From another one?
By his cockle-hat and staff
And his sandal-shoon.

¹ See Macdonald Clark, *Maurice Maeterlinck*, pp. 222 sqq.

² M. Clark, *l. c.*, p. 26.

³ *The Collected Works of Dante Gabriel Rossetti*, London, 1887, I, 300.

⁴ M. Maeterlinck, *Serres chaudes, suivies de Quinze Chansons*, Bruxelles, Lacomblez, 1912, p. 97.—The poem was first published in *Douze Chansons*, 1896.

and completes it as follows:

And what signs have told you now
That he hastens home?
Lo! the spring is nearly gone,
He is nearly come.
For a token is there nought,
Say that he should bring?
He will bear a ring I gave
And another ring.
How may I, when he shall ask,
Tell him who lies there?
Nay, but leave my face unveiled
And unbound my hair.
Can you say to me some word
I shall say to him?
Say I'm looking in his eyes
Though my eyes are dim.

Maeterlinck's song treats the same subject, in the same dialogue form, and follows closely the quaint folk-song melody of Rossetti's verses. The atmosphere in both is identical: the rhythm is sad and mysterious as the faint sound of far-off funeral bells from some incalculable distance, wailing over those who died before the dawn of life and happiness. In both we find the delicate feelings of the dying maiden and the suggestion that her love lives eternally. In the third strophe of both poems reference is made to a token, a ring, given, in the first case; to be given, in the second. Here follows Maeterlinck's poem:

Et s'il revenait un jour,
Que faut-il lui dire?
Dites-lui qu'on l'attendit
Jusqu'à s'en mourir . . .
Et s'il m'interroge alors encore
Sans me reconnaître?
Parlez-lui comme une sœur,
Il souffre peut-être . . .
Et s'il me demande où vous êtes,
Que faut-il répondre?
Donnez-lui mon anneau d'or
Sans rien lui répondre . . .
Et s'il veut savoir pourquoi
La salle est déserte?
Montrez-lui la lampe éteinte
Et la porte ouverte . . .
Et s'il m'interroge alors
Sur la dernière heure?
Dites-lui que j'ai souri
De peur qu'il ne pleure . . .

Although Maeterlinck was inspired by Rossetti for the subject and, partly, for the treatment of his poem, he has shown himself,

in this case, the greater artist. In his exquisite little song he has etherealized the more legendary ballad-like poem of Rossetti and has added to it a more mystical touch: *la lampe éteinte, la porte ouverte*, etc., symbols of death which we find also in his later works.

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"NEVER LESS ALONE THAN WHEN ALONE"

I add a few ancient and medieval instances of the "Never less alone than when alone" conceit, brought up by Professor Cook and others (*Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIV, 54, 123, 226; XXXIV, 122). St. Ambrose uses the passage, without referring to its source, in a letter to Sabrinus (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, XVI, col. 1203); again, avowedly quoting it from Cicero, but applying it to Moses and others, in a work written under the influence of the *De Officiis*, his *De Officiis Ministrorum*, III, 1 (*ib.*, coll. 153-4). Petrarch quotes the passage as in both Cicero and St. Ambrose in his *De Vita Solitaria* (II, iii, 2; II, ix, 5; in the latter case with amusing irritation at St. Ambrose's application). He also quotes (*ib.*, II, iii, 7) a very similar passage from St. Jerome's work *Adversus Jovinianum*. He uses the Ciceronian passage again in the last chapter of the work (II, x, 9).

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SPANISH BALLADS TRANSLATED BY SOUTHEY

To the list of Southey's translations of Spanish ballads provided in Mr. E. Buceta's article in the June number of the *Modern Language Notes* (pp. 328-336), should be added a rendering of *Ocho a ocho, diez a diez*, contained in his *Letters Written During a Short Residence in Spain and Portugal*, Bristol, 1797, pp. 377-387. The translation is prefaced by the following informative remarks:

"From the polished trifles of Villegas (said apropos of a rendering of *A un Arroyuelo*) to the rough strains of the ballad is a wide but agreeable transition, for the man of undebauched taste will prefer rude strength to elegant imbecility. You are well acquainted with the ballad of *Rio verde, rio verde*, in the *Reliques of Ancient Poetry*, and with that of *Alcanzor and Zaydo* (*sic*), which follows it, of which last the original simplicity is lost. The following ballad is taken from the same work (*Historia de las Guerras Civiles de Granada*. Paris 1660), and attempted in the metre of the original the lines ending in a troche (*sic*), but occasionally relieved by a monosyllable termination."

Then follows a reprint of the original ballad and Southey's translation, of which a few lines may be quoted here:

Eight to eight and ten to ten,
 Will the gallant Moorish chieftains,
 Sarrazinos, Aliatares,
 At the turney in Toledo,
 Run the ring against their rivals
 Alarifes and Azarques. . . .

In a bibliography of English translations from the *Guerras Civiles*, mention ought to be made of John Bowring's *Ancient Poetry and Romances of Spain*, London, 1824.

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TWO ROMANCE ETYMOLOGIES

The early history of cards and card-games in South Europe offers two enigmatical words. One is Italian *tarocco*, with derivatives or rather borrowings in French territory in the form *tarot*, and on Teutonic soil *Tarok*, the name of a game and a pack of cards in Vienna and farther north. The other word is *naibi* in Italian and *naype*, now *naipe*, in Spanish and Portuguese. For this word Diez suggested Arabic *naibi*, "Stellvertreter," a derivation rejected by Körting and Meyer-Lübke while the two former authorities do not even list *tarocco*, and the dictionary of this last scholar does not reach that far, as least in the portion in the hands of the present writer. What is the probable origin of these terms?

It seems that the oldest use that cards served is one to which they are still put, that of fortune-telling; they are prophetic, a mode of divination. The earliest deck consisted of twenty-two *tarocchi* plus four suits of fourteen cards each, one suit bearing, in Italian, the name of *bastoni* or "rods," surviving in our name of "clubs." The present writer while casting about for an etymology and believing that these words must surely be of Arabic origin, applied to Professor Julian Morgenstern, of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, and to Professor C. C. Torrey, of Yale University, for assistance, asking among other questions, what connection there might be between *tarocco* and the Arabic name *tarak*, and whether *naype* might be derived from Hebrew and Arabic *nâbi*, "prophet."

Dr. Morgenstern says "there is a fairly common stem in Arabic . . . *ṭrq*, the fundamental meaning of which is 'to knock' or 'to strike'; a rather uncommon meaning is 'to prophesy, to divine' (usually by means of casting stones or lots)." These statements are confirmed by Dr. Torrey. As regards *tarocco*, need we inquire further?

The answers of these two scholars regarding the other guess are entirely unfavorable, both holding the length of the final vowel to be a fatal objection. However, Dr. Torrey has a good deal to offer on his own account. He says among other things:

"The verb *nāba* means 'come around in turn'; for example, if you are playing a game in which the 'turn' comes to one player after another, your 'turn' is called *nauba*. Any thing that passes around from one to another is naturally termed a *nā'iba*, ordinarily pronounced *naibē*. . . . Again, this same word *nā'ibe*, *nāibe*, *naibe* is very common in all varieties of Arabic with the meaning 'turn of fortune,' and especially an *ill* turn of luck. Possibly the use of cards in divination might have given rise to such a designation. The cards might easily have been termed the 'fates' or 'turn of fortune' (*nawā'ib*, plural number), in which case each one of them would have been termed a 'naye.'"

JOHN M. BURNAM.

LATIN *olios*

In Ewald and Loewe's well-known *Exempla scripturae visigothicae*, pl. II, from a codex of St. Augustine preserved at the Escorial in the "camarín de las reliquias," is in a cursive hand very hard to decipher as well as much abraded and damaged by the lapse of time, and the reading is sometimes uncertain. For instance, l. 20, after *aperiat* the editors suggest *tibi os tuum* for what they print in the text: viz., *bios* (following the verb *aperiat*): Now, if one will examine the facsimile very carefully, he will notice that elsewhere *b* has a loop twice as large as in this case, and that further along in the same line, there occurs *inter lineas* a circle just like the bottom of this supposed *b*; but in both cases we are in the presence of a blot. If we do away with it, there remains *olios*, which we offer as the earliest occurrence of the Romance word still *olho* in Portuguese, dating back into the seventh century.

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BRIEF MENTION

Lewis Theobald, his Contribution to English Scholarship, with some Unpublished Letters, by Richard Foster Jones (New York, Columbia University Press, 1919). In a commendably business-like preface the author answers the question that inquires into the purpose of his book. This purpose is a two-fold one. It relates both to the biography of Theobald and to his work and merit as a scholar. After Collins in the *D. N. B.* and Lounsbury in *The Text of Shakespeare*, Dr. Jones has discovered a contribution to biographical details in "a number of unpublished letters, written to Warburton, which throw some light on the period following the great satire, and make clearer the later relations of the two men." These letters, found in Brit. Mus. Egerton Ms. 1956, "supplement those given

by Nichols in *Illustrations of Literature*, vol. 2, pp. 189-656, beginning with December, 1729, and extending to the fall of 1736"; they are now published by Dr. Jones in an Appendix C (pp. 258-346), and duly considered in the main body of his book. The other and more important division of the author's purpose is to uphold the thesis "that the basic principles of critical editing in English were derived directly from the method employed by Bentley in the classics. In his work on Shakespeare Theobald adapted this method to a new field, and in turn was followed by scholars who did not confine their labors to the great dramatist."

The "Early Life" of Theobald is here begun with his removal to London at the age of twenty (1708) to practice the profession of his father, that of an attorney. Having been trained in a notably sound and inspiring knowledge of the classics at a school in Middlesex, he was also equipped with inclinations that were dominantly favorable to literary activity. There is accordingly a first chapter on literary pursuits, which preceded his *Shakespeare Restored* (1726). This was the period of Theobald's extraordinary activity in translating classic authors and contracting for translations that were never fully executed. The story is somewhat complicated, but Dr. Jones makes it all clear enough, and puts a just estimate on Theobald's scholarship and purpose and on such a detail as his dependence on Madame Dacier. Among the original compositions that fall in this period, *The Cave of Poverty* is sustained in its special significance, and Bodmer's letter of commendation is given in Appendix C. As to Theobald's relation to the key to *What D'ye Call It*, Dr. Jones puts an emphasis on the internal evidence of Theobald's manner and knowledge. Coming to the discussion of Parnell's *Zoilus*, nothing is found in it "satirically appropriate to Theobald at that time" when it is probable also that "Pope had never heard of him." Dr. Jones views the matter as follows: "If Pope had any particular critic in mind when he urged Parnell to write the treatise, I would hazard the guess that it was Bentley," to whom the name Zoilus had for a long time been frequently applied. "Furthermore, Parnell's description of Zoilus tallies so closely with that of Bentley given by the Christ Church Wits that it is difficult not to think the great critic was in Parnell's mind." The varied literary work of his early period is all carefully surveyed and also helpfully arranged in a chronological Appendix. Diversified as this literary work was, it proved to be the best preparation for subsequent preëminence in the textual and appreciative criticism of Shakespeare. This is well analyzed by Dr. Jones (pp. 66 ff.). Theobald was just enough of a poet to avoid the pitfalls of a purely logical mind. He understood better than did Bentley that "logic and poetry do not always agree so well as logic and fact" (p. 37). His occupation with the Greek dramatists, his experience as "the author himself of several dramas and various operas and pantomimes," and associations with the theater are to be reckoned as formative factors of a definite character, to which

is to be added an "intimate knowledge of Shakespeare's thought and diction," made indubitable in his writings of this period.

Theobald's qualifications for the achievement of his special eminence in textual criticism were stimulated to fruition by the particular movements in the literary and linguistic scholarship and culture of his day. The mind that was at all concerned with polite learning was then more or less occupied with contrasted propositions. Under the rubric of 'the ancients and the moderns' a process of eliciting contrasts became habitual. The story is well known, but it is gratifying to find that Dr. Jones has reviewed those aspects of it that are pertinent to his thesis with a fresh enthusiasm and in the candor of the unbiased investigator, to whom a prejudiced view is as distasteful as an overt untruth. The spirit of fairness, which "doth not vaunt itself," and a thoroughness—the true attribute of fairness—which pursues truth industriously, characterizes this treatise so consistently as give it an important place among trustworthy books. It makes clear the scholarly merits and personal disposition of Theobald, turning many a traditional judgment into testimony favorable to him and of no slight disadvantage to the reputation of Pope. In all this there is again the old material to put to the test the author's ability to rehandle a subject in an organic manner so as to make it yield definite results.

Bentley's method of textual criticism and his influence in establishing an almost exclusive meaning for criticism is discussed in a chapter entitled "The Rage for Emending"; and it is shown how this was met by the opposing party of polite scholars and literati. It is the opposition that is yet kept alive in some form by superficial advocates on both sides of the controversy.

The history of the study of English authors contains no more fundamentally important chapter than that in which it is shown how Theobald was brought to apply the classical scholar's principles of textual criticism—made conspicuous by the genius of Bentley—to the text of Shakespeare. The care for significant details and for the exhibition of underlying principles with which Dr. Jones has composed his form of this chapter gives an indisputable value to his treatise. His exposition of Theobald's method in *Shakespeare Restored* cannot, without a loss, be neglected by the incipient scholar in English. At this point the discussion, in a later chapter, of the preface to Theobald's edition of Shakespeare is of special importance. "The need of research in editing an English text" is there emphasized for the first time, in what "may be justly considered the first expression of the modern method employed in critical editions." Opposition to the method mounted to a warfare; this high point of interest is well handled in the chapter entitled "The Period of *The Dunciad*." Here the spotlight is turned on the personal character of both Pope and Theobald. The disadvantage that falls to Pope's share is in strong contrast to the rescued merits of Theobald. The variorum edition of *The Dunciad* "was largely responsible for the character of Theobald that has come down to recent times."

This report can be corrected, but how can Pope be excused for petty resentment and deliberate misrepresentations? A quarrel was inevitable, for Theobald would not lay down the weapon of his superior scholarship. Pope's party grew apace and defined with increasing precision that its cause was the repudiation of critical scholarship, especially in verbal details—"the trivial pursuit of wrong-headed industry"—and ultimately levelled its aim also at Bentley, who was recognized as "the creator of the critical method."

To have Bentley drawn into close relationship with him was a compliment that proved to be somewhat embarrassing to Theobald, because of Bentley's unfortunate application of his method to the text of Milton. Theobald had to declare that his master had "out-done his own Outdoings." Theobald's edition of Shakespeare at last appeared and completed his vindication. Warburton's relation to the "Preface," foreshadowing unhappy consequences, is a prominent feature of the chapter in which the edition of Shakespeare is examined—a chapter that is important also for the biographical details that bring the story down to "Theobald's Later Life." To the end Theobald was an industrious scholar, always projecting more than came to fulfillment. He finally won acknowledged eminence, but the joy of triumph must have been grievously marred by the loss of Warburton's friendship, if indeed it was friendship on the part of the arrogant divine, against whose character as a background the final sketch of Theobald's character gains heightened effects of contrasts.

In the final chapter, "The Progress of the Method," the editors of English authors are shown to have followed Theobald's method in its essential accuracy and breadth and with acknowledgment of his leadership until "their work in turn became new centers of influence, so that by the last quarter of the century the later tribe of critics considered the method anybody's." Theobald became the subject of a twofold and inherently contradictory tradition, for "Pope's characterization of him was complacently accepted," while on the other hand he was acknowledged to have set up the true pattern for the editing of an English author. As time went on, however, Theobald the scholarly editor faded from the general as well as from the critical mind, and "Theobald the dunce survived." In this chapter it is first shown that Theobald's method of investigating the cultural circumstances and experience of an English author and of controlling the critical apparatus of his text with the thoroness of a classical scholar had to displace the method of the poet-editor, who had found it easy enough to execute the trade-projects of a publisher. However, the author of this treatise is chiefly concerned to report with all necessary detail the work of the editors who may be called the immediate disciples of Theobald. This he has done with the judgment, industry, and taste required for a valuable contribution to the history of literary scholarship. Like all trustworthy history, this chapter is significant in its organic connections with the past and the future. In the future

here pointed out, no detail in connection with the influence of Theobald's method has a more peculiar significance than the 'Romantic' turning back to the literature of the nation's early and neglected periods.

J. W. B.

The Influence of French Literature on Europe. By Emeline M. Jensen, Ph. D. (Boston, Richard G. Badger, 1919, 132 pp.) Dr. Jensen has attacked in the brief space of her book a vast subject with a courage which cannot fail to win our admiration. This "little work of historical literary research" manifests an enthusiasm for France and her literature which disarms a critic, while an air of informality pervades the whole book and removes any suspicion of pedantry. A quotation from Dr. Henry Van Dyke begins the study, which is brought to a graceful close by another quotation from the author of the *Spoon River Anthology*.

Altho "ever since the early dawn of civilization, the French people have led the literary world," Dr. Jensen limits herself to the few centuries embraced by the *Chanson de Roland* and the philosophy of Bergson. With bold, rapid strokes she sketches for us the development of French literature, and reveals to us many new points of view. For example: "the Academy advanced scholasticism"; "Mme de Sévigné created a new kind of literature in the form of letters"; "he (Chateaubriand) wielded an immeasurably great influence in England which cannot be over-estimated"; "the French influence may have been very helpful to Spain, as there was but little of old literature there to build on." Similar striking statements, to be found on almost every page, show that the book has been written with a genuine independence of thought and a freedom from tradition.

"Ample references to larger and more complete works have been given." The *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Nelson's *Encyclopaedia*, as well as other works of general reference, are frequently cited, but one misses any notice whatsoever to less complete works such as those of Lanson, Brunetière, or Petit de Julleville. In the field of comparative literature, or the study of literary influences in general, Dr. Jensen would seem, at least for herself, to have discovered America.

The spelling bears the same stamp of originality. Would either the Marquise or Julie recognize the *Hotel Rambuild*? The author of the *Dictionnaire historique et critique* is persistently referred to as *Boyle*. The distinguished Spanish scholar has lost half his name, as well as his hyphen, and becomes plain Kelly. Similar instances are too numerous to mention. As for the accents on the French words and quotations, Dr. Jensen is a law unto herself, altho she consistently omits the majority of them.

To appreciate fully the present work it must be read in its entirety. France will undoubtedly, as our authoress maintains, "continue to be in the future, the reigning queen of polite litera-

ture, quietly, yet in a thousand ways, exerting her influence for refinement and culture," but what in the mean while will happen if our young doctors of philosophy continue to write such works and our publishers run the risk of publishing them? J. F. M.

Report of the Committee appointed by the Prime Minister to enquire into the Position of Modern Languages in the Educational System of Great Britain (His Majesty's Stationery Office, 1918). This report is of great interest to all those interested in the question of Modern Language instruction in the United States, as well as in Great Britain, especially at this time, when the whole question has been re-opened in many places as a result of the experiences of the last few years. Much of it, of course, is not applicable to conditions in this country, for it is largely taken up with a presentation of the claim of *Modern Studies* as against too great emphasis on the Classics, and, with us, Modern Languages have not only long since won their place in the sun, but too often crowded the older instruction into the background, without always furnishing as full a measure of solid training, or the anticipated utility, in its stead.

For this reason, the term *Modern Studies* is of interest, for it is the desire of the British committee to bring about as thorough instruction in Modern Languages as is offered by the Classics in England, and this includes not only a mastery of the languages, but also careful study of the history, society, and institutions of the people in question, about whom less is generally known than about ancient Greece and Rome.

The report is a fine example of British thoroughness and scholarly system in such matters. It discusses, among other things, the history of Modern Language instruction in Great Britain, without concealing any of the deficiencies, past or present; the present needs as a result of the war and for future relations; Modern Languages from a cultural as well as from a practical point of view; training of teachers (who should all spend at least one year in the country whose language they are to teach), with suggestions as to scholarships and studentships to enable them to do this, and exchange of students and professors, recommending native British teachers instead of foreign for the higher posts, as being better able to recognize and meet the requirements of British students; honor examinations and other means of encouraging students to recognize the value of Modern Languages and put them on a par with the Classics. It recommends that only one foreign language be required, and even takes up the question of an international language such as Esperanto, advising a further study of its practicability, especially for those students who have not the time for thorough mastery of some other idiom. In short, many important questions are presented and discussed with impartiality and competence, and the work contains a large amount of suggestive materials for any one interested in the matter. C. D. Z.